

The Intellectual Capital of the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities

(1974 – 1994)

A Dissertation

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Dedication

This research and the subsequent dissertation is dedicated to my mother who taught me perseverance, my father and David Allen who taught me the value of curiosity, and Brigitte Allen who nurtured my love of performance. The concept of the dissertation is due in large part to the care and support provided me by Dr. Geneva H. Southall and Dr. Reginald T. Buckner. Serving as their Teaching Assistant at the University of Minnesota, I learned more about the immense responsibility of being a Black teacher than any book or course could have taught. The passion I carry within my spirit for teaching scholarship and performance comes from the way they embodied these things and willingly with joy passed them on to me.

Abstract

A group of Black teachers from all levels of music education founded an organization in 1975 to counter the racist practices they experienced in the field of music education. That organization, the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities (BMETC), sought to support Black students' aspirations, provide professional development for teachers, to provide representation of Black role models, to provide documentation of Black contributions in the music and music education, and to encourage the performance of compositions by composers of African descent.

Over its 20-year history, BMETC produced human capital in the form of knowledge, research, compositions, and performances. Unique structural capital syncretized western European and African-American elements that merged sacred and secular elements. This capital also provided vehicles through which its adult and youth members developed skills in performance, education, scholarship, and leadership. Customer capital developed through personal and professional relationships offered mentorship experiences, inspiration, financial and emotional support.

The purpose of this study is to (a) fill gaps in music education history; (b) render visible the contributions of African American music and educators in the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota; and (c) to discover the legacy, influence and impact of BMETC through an investigation of the organization's intellectual capital. Beyond filling gaps in music education history, this study is significant as it provides documentation that counters status quo perception and literature and highlights the importance of Black teachers as positive role models. Further, this study responds to

continuing racist perspectives that diminish Black contributions in Western Art music and in the field of music education.

The researcher employed archival and historical research methods to document the history of BMETC and to identify intellectual capital. The tenets of interest convergence and counter-storytelling from theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory were used to discover impacts of race on the types of intellectual capital produced and to answer questions regarding the organization's cessation of regular activities. The primary research questions addressed by the dissertation surround two main topics: BMETC's history and its place in the lineage of All-Black volunteer organizations and the legacy, influence and impact of BMETC's intellectual capital.

The study concluded that BMETC was centered in and continued a legacy of All-Black volunteer organizations that formed to counter institutional and systemic racism challenge mainstream perceptions and practices. BMETC members acted as change agents, challenging status quo perceptions, behaviors, and institutional praxis. Though their activities slowed significantly in the late 1990s, BMETC's legacy is evidenced in the activities of retired former members who continue to volunteer and positively affect the world and in the numbers of former youth and junior members who continue to participate as new generations of performers and teachers or who contribute in fields outside of music. The impact and influence of BMETC is also evident in the progress made toward diversity during BMETC's active years but even more so in lack of continued progress toward dismantling systemic institutional racism, since the cessation of regular activities.

The Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities (BMETC) was successful in many ways. It provided services that filled the unfulfilled needs of Black music teachers and students. Through BMETC, adult members found opportunities to perform, share their scholarship, and to increase their leadership skills. Children and youth received financial support for private music lessons, mentorship and role models of successful, professional performers, composers, and teachers.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Black teachers historically advocated for justice for themselves, their students, and the communities in which they worked. They provided an incarnate representation of Black ingenuity and creativity. Additionally, Black teachers used their status and position as teachers to impart racial history and knowledge as a corrective to mainstream teaching. As activists, they put their lives on the line, fighting for the rights of all, participating as abolitionists and suffragists and in the continuing freedom movement¹ (Baker, 2011; Milner & Howard, 2004). Black musicians and music educators significantly contributed to American music and music education while at the same time experiencing the effects of slavery and systemic² and institutional racism³, and the attempts to mitigate those effects legally.

In Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities (BMETC) founded in 1975, Black teachers and their students found a community in which they could not only gain inspiration but also gain strength for the journey of being African Americans in the United States (Cortez & California, 2006; Foster, 1997). Music educators in BMETC advocated for the success of their adult, youth, and child members. Adult members imparted racial history and knowledge as a corrective to mainstream teaching and as racial uplift. For culture- producing organizations, members of BMETC embodied an

¹ A freedom movement is any organized effort within a society to promote, or attain, liberation or independence, based on social, political, economic, religious, or other ideological grounds.

² The concept, systemic racism, developed by sociologist Joe R. Feagin, argues the United States was founded as a racist society because of having classified Black people as the property of White people. Systemic racism is maintained through institutional racism

³ Institutional racism is a pattern of social institutions giving negative treatment to a group of people based on their race.

inclusive African American culture.

Intellectual capital represented by cultural products, networks, acts of fellowship, and scholarship provides evidence of BMETC members' cultural, academic, and social output as well as their influence and legacy. This dissertation presents a documented history of BMETC's first 20 years and explores the intellectual capital⁴ produced by BMETC members as evidence of output, influence and legacy. Intellectual capital is organized into three categories: human, structural, and customer. Human capital refers to products of knowledge, skill, "know-how," and capability. Organizational structures and routines are categorized as structural capital. BMETC's networks and relationships the within the organization are discussed in two parts as customer (Akpinar & Akdemir, 1999; Newman, 2007).

Background of the Problem

Presented here are events historical, social, and cultural, that necessitated the formation of BMETC. Also important to situating BMETC historically are unique organizational elements represented by the history of Black organizations, volunteerism, and activism. The section is divided into voluntary associations, general education, educational interventions, and efforts in multicultural music education. A brief history of music education and the ways music and music education have been documented through textbooks is presented.

⁴ Intellectual capital is used in the corporate world to identify and measure intangible assets.

All-Black Voluntary Associations.

Free and enslaved Africans of the colonies that became the United States began creating associations and institutions in the 1700s. The first churches included the African Baptist Church (1758), the First African Baptist Church of Savannah (1777), and the African Methodist Episcopal Church (1793). Parallel to the establishment of churches was the creation of mutual aid societies, which flourished almost immediately after the American Revolution. Mutual Aid societies such as the African Union Society (1787) and the Free African Society (1780) provided legal, financial, and health services and assistance with burials, employment, and housing. These voluntary associations served as the linchpin of the free black community, generating the church, fraternal orders, insurance companies, and the national convention movement, which became important components of black institutional life (Harris Jr., 1979, p. 609).

Almost in tandem with the creation of Free African societies, churches for African congregations were organized within various Christian denominations. During the years prior to and following the Civil War into the Industrial Era, White allies created institutions for Black Americans, sometimes in concert with African American efforts, but often in opposition to African American efforts. Legislation enacted in 1896, colloquially termed “separate but equal,” sanctioned parallel but separate lives, public institutions and facilities for African and White Americans. Increased resistance to African American citizenry and the tendency for institutions organized by White allies to house racism resulted in renewed efforts by African Americans to create separate organizations. Examples of these organizations include: college fraternities such as Alpha

Phi Alpha (1906), religious fraternal orders such as the Knights of St. Peter Claver (1909), and teacher organizations such as the National Association for Teachers in Colored Schools (1906).

All-Black institutions, communities, associations, and groups proliferated during the subsequent 60 years. These organizations were organized at times in response to the legal segregation of institutions, communities, and associations, but more often, they were organized as an act of agency, fostering self-determination and advocating racial parity. The freedom movement reached an apex during the 1960s. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination in the United States based on race, color, religion, sex, and national origin. In response to this legislation, governmental entities encouraged many All-Black organizations to merge with their White counterparts. Unfortunately, the inability of these merged organizations to meet the needs of African Americans members and their communities resulted in the creation of new All-Black organizations in the 1970s.

Educational Institutions.

Voluntary associations also formed educational institutions. These educational institutions were organized by Africans, free and enslaved, and by European Americans with and without the cooperation of African Americans. Vocal music was included as an activity in all these early schools because there was no true separation of church and state as it regarded public schools. In some cases, instrumental music and dance was added. School buildings served many functions, as they were often, with the exception of the church, the largest centrally located buildings in any community.

Education was and is a complicated affair. In many ways, education has always had strings attached. These strings include the sustaining religious, social, or intellectual ideologies with the objective of creating participants or examples for use in various movements, and the perpetuation of status quo power structures. Schools organized by abolitionists, manumission societies, and anti-slavery groups, for example, used education to acculturate Africans to definitions of freedom held by its members. One example of a manumission society with a hidden agenda is the New York Manumission Society (NYMS). The members of the NYMS, one of the largest anti-slavery groups during the 18th century, were the state's elite. While assumed to be working on behalf of the welfare of African Americans, Rury (1985) argues the organization was not completely benevolent. While advocating the manumission of slaves, many of the membership owned slaves. In meetings, members voted to keep watch over Black New Yorkers, arguing that immorality and idleness were characteristically Black traits. The Society went as far as to dictate which groups Free Blacks should associate with and which behaviors were deemed acceptable in or out of the home.

NYMS members John Jay (1745-1829) and Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804) organized The African Free School (1787) to provide education to children of Free and Enslaved Africans. The school's purpose was to train Black leadership who could take responsibility for the moral conduct of the Free Black citizenry. Because of the low opinion held by NYMS members with regard to adult Free Africans, the school was charged to watch over and acculturate Africans in the image of NYMS' White members (Kaestle & Foner, 1983).

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) used its schools in the U. S. to Christianize unconverted enslaved Africans and Indigenous Americans. SPG schools prioritized Bible reading. Members of SPG taught Free and enslaved Africans to read the bible in contradiction to laws forbidding this. The first school organized by the SPG was founded in New York in 1704. The SPG purchased two Black slaves, Harry and Andrew, in the 1740s to train them in the “principles of Christianity and the fundamentals of education, to serve as schoolmasters to their people” (Woodson, 1919, p. 14). In 1744, Rev. Garden, the missionary who purchased and trained Harry and Andrew, paid 308 pounds to build a school in Charleston, South Carolina where they would teach their fellow slaves. In this way, schools organized by the SPG supported the institution of slavery, rather than the abolitionist movement.

Schools organized by African Americans during the Antebellum Period (1776-1865) also had hidden agendas. These agendas included self-determination through racial uplift and self-sufficiency. In many cases, these schools also advocated acceptance and replication of the middle-class values exhibited by the dominant class. However, it is also clear that African American citizens believed freedom meant something more than being under the watchful eye and leadership of White Americans. Since education was synonymous with freedom, many schoolhouses, churches, and meetinghouses became stops on the Underground Railroad. Additionally, African American schools and organizations extended support to recently manumitted and escaping slaves (Davis, 1980; Sizemore, 1980; Southern, 1997).

Teachers.

Teachers in American schools historically played many roles. In some cases, they were founding and charter members of the schools and in other cases, they were hired as the main teachers. As main teachers, they served roles as principals, fundraisers, sub-contractors, disciplinarians, recruiters, support services, and human resources managers. In other words, often the Black teacher was the only staff member. While this was true in rural areas, Black teachers not only had the immense burden of being a solo employee, but also had to face often-violent reactions from those who vehemently opposed the education of Blacks.

An example of a teacher who played numerous, and pivotal, roles is Occramer Marycoo (1746-1826), an African slave who contributed greatly to music and music education. Renamed Newport Gardner by his slave master, he was a composer, choral conductor, and singing teacher. Marycoo and Pompe (Zingo) Stevens helped to found the Free African Union Society (AUS) in 1780 and the African Female Benevolent Society in 1809 along with Free women Obour Tanner and Sarah Lyna. The African Female Society became a coed group and was renamed the African Benevolent Society (ABS). The ABS financed and administered a school in 1808 of which Gardner served as teacher and headmaster. Marycoo also founded and administered a private singing school that served both Black and White students (“Newport Gardner (1746-1826),” 1976; William Henry Robinson, 1976; Sensbach, 1998).

Black teachers, important to the success of the Freedmen’s schools were trained and hired by the Freedmen’s Bureau and its allies. Bureau superintendents found newly

freed African Americans were enthusiastically willing to teach and to provide financial support to schools teaching adults and their children. Armed with this discovery, the Freedmen's Bureau began to require Black communities to acquire land and to raise enough funds to support a teacher and build a school building before the Bureau would supply aid in the form of building supplies. This matching-fund requirement made it difficult for poorer communities to acquire educational facilities. Despite this additional burden, Black families stretched their incomes to provide for their children's chance at success. While missionary groups hired White female teachers for their schools, the Freedmen's Bureau made all attempts to hire African American teachers. Many schools organized by the Freedmen's Bureau became self-supporting (Finkelman, 2006).

Teacher Training and Professional Organizations.

The training of African American teachers was facilitated through the efforts of (a) religious organizations, (b) the Freedmen's Bureau, (c) private philanthropists, and (d) the establishment of land-grant colleges. Though many of the schools for African Americans began with the fundamentals of math, science, and English, course offerings in music were quickly added (Brigham, 1948; Colson, 1933; Gill, 2002; Jackson, 1938; Nelson, 1962). Many institutions identified as members of Historically Black Colleges and Universities' (HBCU) began life as Normal schools, which originally trained teachers. Research by Edna. M. Colson (1933) found 18 Black teacher colleges and Normal schools organized by what she termed the "highest standards of American education." These standards included having 85 % of training school staff with Master's degrees in the subject they were hired to teach. Her research also uncovered the extent of

training offered. Normal Schools for African Americans provided training for not only teachers but deans, vocational guidance counselors, school health officers, and librarians.

White teacher organizations such as the Normal Music Teachers Association (1885) and the National Federation of School Music Teachers (1897) provided additional training for teachers. However, African Americans were not offered membership to these organizations. In organizations where African American membership was allowed, the perception was that the White membership prioritized the status quo of racial inequality. African American teachers recognized the need for additional training beyond the classroom so they organized by teacher groups and by city and state. An example of one of these groups is the Georgia Teacher Educators Association (GTEA). Walker (2001) found the GTEA, though a chapter of the National Education Association (NEA), carried out an agenda that was typically in opposition to the NEA. Horace Tate, leader of the organization, described White communities as wanting “Blacks to be mannerable, but not get to the point of being self-sufficient” (p. 761). Aware of the overt barriers to the fulfillment of educational needs, the GTEA assumed an activist and political stance that united its members around common goals. Many of these African American teacher organizations boasted about their attendance numbers. GTEA attendance number for 1958, for example, indicate 80 % attendance representing 202 cities and counties.

Historic Educational Interventions.

Three historic interventions related to the education of African Americans are discussed in this section. The first regards interventions through legislation and desegregation/integration efforts. The second relates to interventions provided as a part of

multi-cultural education efforts, and the third presents historic interventions by Black teachers.

Interventions through Legislation.

Legislation enacted to provide African Americans access to the rights and freedoms guaranteed in local, state, and federal laws and to counter decisions made by the U.S. Supreme Court often had the reverse effect. The systematic destruction of All-Black schools occurred at three historical times: The dissolution of the Freedmen's Bureau (1871), the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954), and continuing desegregation efforts throughout the 1960s and 70s. The dissolution of All-Black schools led to the loss of jobs for many Black teachers. Those teachers who remained employed became, along with Black students, minorities in schools with high concentrations of White teachers, staff, administration, and teachers. A further impact of the dissolution of All-Black schools was the growing perception within the Black community that teaching was no longer a viable profession. An additional negative impact of the closing of All-Black schools was that Black teachers, administrators, staff, and students found themselves minorities in the All-White schools, subject to lowered expectations and racist practices.

The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 declared all persons held as slaves forever free. By 1865, approximately 3.9 million formerly enslaved Africans in the United States became free. To provide for these newly freed people, the federal government formed the U.S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands in 1865. The intent was to provide food, health care, land, and education to formerly

enslaved Africans, bringing them into full citizenship. The Bureau and its programs ceased in 1871 due to lack of appropriations and the lack of support from then-President Andrew Johnson. During the period of its operation, the Bureau established a vast network of day schools for youth and night schools for adults. Schools that had no firm means of support from the Freedmen's Bureau fell into disrepair and had to close. Funding from the Bureau for teachers ended and, unless supported by churches or other groups, teachers lost their jobs.

The Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 sought to solidify support of Black citizenship, giving all people born or naturalized in the United States equal protection under the law and protections of their rights to life, liberty, and property. Unfortunately, Black citizens would lose most of their rights and freedoms over the course of the next 20 years under what would commonly be known as Jim Crow laws. These laws were based on the *Fergusson v. Plessy* Supreme Court decision of 1896, which deemed segregation constitutional. This decision and racist laws based on this decision necessitated the continued creation of All-Black schools and the proliferation of All-Black institutions, communities, associations, and groups. In addition to providing a place for Black leadership, All-Black groups and institutions fostered self-determination and advocated racial parity. Black teachers became the backbone of the Black middle class. They were well educated and organized. Many belonged to state professional association and some formed local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers. As society's leaders, teachers functioned as social workers and public health advocates, participated in activities of racial uplift, and were interracial diplomats (Fairclough, 2007, p. 5). The

pressure on Black teachers was immense. Ambrose Caliver (1894-1962), a champion of the Black cause within the U. S. Office of Education during the 1930s, placed the destiny of the race in the hands of Black teachers.

The Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954) made segregation in public spaces illegal. The intent was to provide Black Americans with what John Marshall Harlan, termed the right to share in the privileges of first-class citizenship (Kauper, 1954). The national leadership of the NAACP, which brought forth the case before the Supreme Court, argued integration was unlikely to cause large-scale job losses in the long-term and created a Department of Teacher Information and Society to protect teachers from unfair intimidation and dismissal. Unfortunately, the livelihood of Black teachers was based on *de facto* and *de jure* segregation. In effect, teachers had jobs because of the existence of All-Black schools. In the end, this landmark decision designed to help African Americans had the opposite effect with regard to educational progress, causing Black teachers, students, and neighborhoods to pay a high cost, still being experienced. These costs will be discussed in a subsequent section.

The 1960s were the apex of the Civil Rights Movement and federal legislation was enacted once again to provide African Americans due process, access, and protection under the laws of the land. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination in the United States based on race, color, religion, sex, and national origin. Affirmative Action legislation focused on improving employment opportunities for African Americans, correcting historical inequities from past discriminatory practices (Freeman, 1998). The government's failure to enforce the Civil Rights Act and Affirmative Action on college

campuses led Black students to organize sit-ins and takeovers of administration buildings. Student demands included Black representation in course offerings and within the personnel of university faculty, staff, and administration. In Minnesota, Black students in 1969 organized a takeover of Morrill Hall, the University of Minnesota's administration building. The success of the Morrill Hall takeover is visible in the subsequent development of departments in Chicano, American Indian, African American, and Women Studies (Hughes, 2006).

The expected gains of 1960s civil rights legislation did not always materialize and African Americans experienced disenchantment because of the legislation's failure to provide full citizenship and protection under the law. In the eyes of many Blacks, the process of integration through desegregation was tainted by the fact that the power to control desegregation was placed in the hands of those who fought so hard to retain segregation (Fairclough, 2004, p. 54). All-Black organizations were encouraged to merge with their White counterparts to desegregate professional organizations. Examples of these mergers include the 90-year-old GTEA with the 100-year-old Georgia Education Association, the Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools (FABD) with the Florida Bandmasters Association in 1966 and in 1969, the Alabama State Teachers Association (ASTA) with the Alabama Education Association. The failure of these merged organizations to address the needs of Black students and teachers is seen in the proliferation of new Black educational organizations in the 1970s. The organizations included the Black Caucus of the National Council of Teachers of English (1970), the National Alliance of Black School Educators (1971), the National Black Music Caucus

(1972), and the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities in 1975.

Interventions through Multiculturalism.

Academic music communities have sought to nurture multiculturalism, diversity, and pluralism since the 1920s. Banks (1995) characterizes the history of multicultural education as having four phases. The first phase included the work of the *Intergroup Education Movement*. The second phrase emerged with the growing interest in ethnic studies among teachers and demands by students to have themselves represented in education under multiethnic education. The third phase focused on non-racial groups such as women and the disabled, who demanded the incorporation of their voices into curricula. The fourth phase consisted of the development of research, theory, and practice that interrelates race, class, sex, and gender.

Van Til (1959) identifies the first phase of multiculturalism as “the missionary phase, the stage of the simple answers, the stage of promising practices, and the research stage” (p. 368). Most of the work during this stage was convincing educators of the necessity for intercultural education. During World War II, three organizations made significant contributions and led the way in the intercultural music education movement, which coincided with a social focus on supporting the United States as a melting pot. I will discuss one organization, below, as representative of the first phase of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism: Phase I.

The *Intergroup Education in Cooperative Schools* project (1945-1948) was

supported by grants from the Educational Commission of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the American Council on Education. The group produced curricula as well as publications on instructional methods. Taba and Wilson (1946) reported that the group simultaneously developed educational items and tested them in the classroom. The project emphasized, “group living,” providing opportunities to bring children of recently arrived immigrants, children of non-European ethnicities, and children from lower economic classes into the mainstream of school life to support the concept of the melting pot (p. 24).

Troubling in the report by Taba and Wilson are statements that support the very racism the program was organized to confront. “Biology teachers are increasingly concerned with teaching clearer concepts concerning the inheritance of traits; they are beginning to introduce some elementary concepts of genetics and to study the problems of race” (p. 25). Also included in curricula were sections on minority problems and the contributions of those deemed outstanding members of minority groups. In the project, a paternalistic mainstream European-American society is presented as the norm with everyone else in need of being educated so that they can be assimilated. The group also seemed to be preoccupied with appreciating individuals in spite of their differences, rather than supporting differences as positive elements of culture. Intergroup education and human relations supplanted intercultural education by the early 1950s (Olneck, 1990).

Teachers were trained to incorporate elements of multiculturalism in their classrooms. Intercultural and intergroup leaders organized teacher trainings during the

1940s and 50s in the form of workshops. Van Til (1959) compared the earlier and later workshops. In the beginning, these workshops focused almost entirely on race, religion, and nationality. The emphasis was on facts and concepts from the social sciences. Later workshops broadened the focus to include interpersonal relationships and relationships among classes and urban and rural areas. These workshops prioritized “child growth and development, social and emotional needs, emotional re-education, and group dynamics” (p. 373).

Multiculturalism: Phase II.

The second phase of multiculturalism occurred primarily throughout the 1960s. Ethnic studies programs were introduced at the higher education level to enhance the self-esteem of selected minority groups and to respond to student protests for courses that offered a representative voice. Institutions of higher education, often through newly established ethnic studies departments introduced studies of ethnic artistic forms. Mary A. Gibson and James A. Banks found that curricula in this phase included elements of multi-ethnic studies, though targeted to specific groups and specific geographical locations (Labuta & Smith, 1997; Volk, 1998).

Multiculturalism in music education occurred in three ways: through the introduction of music from non-European cultures into the classroom, the development of curricula prioritizing a global perspective, and the training of teachers to teach music from various cultures. Organized formal discussions of multiculturalism in music education began in 1967. The Music Educators National Conference (MENC) convened a symposium in Tanglewood, Massachusetts from July 23 to August 2, 1967. The purpose

was to discuss and define the role of music education in contemporary American society. Recommendations were developed to improve the effectiveness of music instruction, including:

- Music of all period, styles, forms, and cultures belong in the curriculum; the musical repertory should be expanded to involve music of our time in its rich variety, currently popular teen-age music and avant-garde music. American folk music and the music of other cultures.
- The music education profession must contribute its skills, proficiencies, and insights toward assisting in the solution of urgent social problems as in the “inner city” or other areas with culturally deprived individuals (Tanglewood, 1968).

While the 1967 Tanglewood Symposium advocated cultural music, including world music, be included in the music education curriculum, the music of African American was represented by the genre of Jazz and did not include Western Art Music by composers of African descent. There was also no movement toward the inclusion of the contributions of Black music teachers in the canon of music education history or as a part of teacher training (Volk, 1993). While the multicultural music movement has in effect institutionalized the union of pop music forms like Jazz and Blues, and folk forms with African and African American contributions, it has not embraced African⁵ and African American contributions to Western Art Music. While the movement has prioritized recognition of the musical contributions of people of color, it has not advocated making major changes to the way music education history is taught or understood. Proponents of

⁵ The term, African and African American is used here because in periods before the establishment of the United States it would not be appropriate to consider Black people, as African American.

the movement have not significantly changed the history of music education to include the contributions of people of color. Studies performed by Humphreys (1998) and Volk (1993) have supported concerns regarding the absence of people of color.

Multiculturalism: Phase III.

By the end of the 60s, the melting pot image of the United States gave way to the salad bowl or mosaic metaphors (Volk, 1998). The term *multiculturalism* was developed as the knowledge of ethnicity alone was deemed educationally unacceptable. This third phase of multicultural education is far-reaching and inclusive. Culture is expanded beyond race, nationality, and ethnicity to include sex and the disabled. James A. Banks (1979) posited multicultural education should

educate students so that they will acquire knowledge about a range of cultural groups and develop the attitudes, skills, and abilities needed to function at some level of competency within many different cultural environments (p. 239).

Anthropologist Margaret Gibson (1984) developed five approaches to multicultural education in the late 70s. These approaches include:

1. Education for the culturally different
2. Education about cultural differences or cultural understanding
3. Education for cultural pluralism
4. Bicultural education
5. Multicultural education

Many of Gibson's ideas sound benevolent. However, digging deeper into her definitions reveals a type of paternalism commonly found in the writings and approaches

of early anthropologists. The first point recommends the creation of educational opportunities for the culturally different. The use of the phrase culturally different presupposes European American culture as the norm and non-European cultures as the aberration. "These children are labeled culturally different because they share only peripherally in the mainstream culture." These same children were identified as the ones "most in need of and can benefit from multicultural education" (p. 96). The target population includes Puerto Rican, Native American and African American children.

The focus of the second approach moves toward benefitting all students, educating them to appreciate differences thereby decreasing racism while increasing social justice. While this again sounds benevolent, Gibson does not seem able to visualize the true benefit to mainstream students beyond preparing them to live and work in a heterogeneous society. Students from majority culture are the targets of the third assumption. "Education for cultural pluralism seeks to increase reward parity among groups by decreasing the power of the majority" (p. 104). Gibson separates cultural pluralism from multicultural education as the former presents a strategic extension of the sociopolitical interests of ethnic groups. Her definition of cultural pluralism argues some separation of organizations, communities, and institutions must exist to preserve pluralism. Interestingly the only motive identified by Gibson for the ethnic groups to highlight their cultural differences is as a tool for maximizing group efforts. She denies traditionalism as a possible reason for why ethnic groups separate themselves. While the strategy is advocated for all students, examples of the benefits to non-European ethnic groups included learning to function in their native ethnic groups and in the mainstream.

Approach 5 relieves teachers from having cultural transmission as a primary responsibility. Ethnicity is no longer equated with culture alleviating stereotypes and promoting richer explorations of similarities and differences between students of ethnic groups. “We must distinguish conceptually between the multiple identities individuals have available to them and their primary social identities in a particular ethnic group” (p. 113).

Multiculturalism: Phase IV.

The current phase of multiculturalism includes religion, age, gender, and class (Volk, 1998). This, of course matches with several of the approaches recommended by Gibson. The effect of this movement on music education was the purposeful inclusion of repertoire from varied cultures, ethnicities, and nationalities. It also is seen in the expansion of types of ensembles offered at the college/university level. Almost all research on multicultural education programs advocate changes in teacher preparation. Thus, teacher education has changed, requiring pre-service teachers to take courses designed to teach about cultures different from their own and to foster sensitivity to ethnic differences (Labuta & Smith, 1997). While laudable attempts have been made efforts by music educators to be inclusive, equitable, and just, training of music teachers, and practices within music classrooms are not yet reflective of these priorities. African American contributions are either invisible or minimized in the current canon of research and textbooks used to teach music education.

Music Education History

The following brief history of music education presents a history that supports the problem statement of the invisibility of Black contributions. The history of the training of music teachers supported attitudes and practices creating negative experiences for Black teachers and students. The combined histories of music education and music teacher education that support the problem statements are in the next section of the dissertation.

A Master's thesis and presentation to the Music Teachers National Association (MNTA) 35th Annual Meeting by Frances Dickey (1913) provided the first chronology of music history in the public school system of the United States. Dickey starts her chronology of music education history with the 1830s with the work of Lowell Mason (1792 –1872) in Massachusetts and William Woodbridge (1794 -1845) in Connecticut. Edward Birge expanded upon this history in 1928. Like Dickey, Birge (1966) similarly documents music history through the lens of European music pedagogy as applied by American music educators Mason and Woodbridge. Unlike the research by Dickey, Birge included a discussion of the music educators' association and conference. Women find a place, though not prominently as teachers, conference leaders, nor as publishers of method books.

Sunderman (1943), Keene (1982, 1987), Mark (1989), Gary (1964) and Mark and Gary (2007; 1992) built on the previous work of Birge and Dickey. Their texts extended the period and geographic areas discussed, include music instruction among the First Nations⁶, and document some contributions of African Americans, though not in any

⁶ The term, First Nations was adopted in the 1980s to replace the term Indian.

substantial way. The resulting history of music education was devoid of major contributions by people of color, and of those who live in areas outside of the eastern United States. Also missing is curricula that did not stem from a Eurocentric model (Conway, 2014; Heller, 1990; Humphreys, 1997, 1998; 1997; Humphreys & Schmidt, 1998).

Almost as troubling as the absence of significant contributions by African Americans, is the inclusion of contributions that support stereotypes. Keene (1982) writes, “The American white man is, after all, only a displaced European, while the American black man’s contributions to American music, particularly in the field of jazz, have been considerable” (p. ix). Black musical contributions are only seen, acknowledged and taught through the lens of popular musical forms. Missing are the considerable contributions of Black men and women to America’s art music and to music education.

Music Teacher Training, Practices, and Attitudes

Teacher training whether in music or in other academic subjects is important as it leads to the development of practices, including choices of repertoire. Teacher training can also support and refined teacher attitudes. Finally, teacher training institutionalizes beliefs and values. Research since the 40s has explored how teacher perception, attitude, and behavior affects student success. The role of expectations and the ways those expectations become self-fulfilling prophecies was first researched by American sociologist Robert K. Merton (1910-2003). Merton defined self-fulfilling prophecy as being in the beginning, “a false definition of the situation evoking a new behavior which makes the originally false conception come true” (Merton, 1948, p. 195). He posited self-

fulfilling prophecies have perpetuated throughout the history of race relations in the United States enduring prejudices “not as prejudgments, but as irresistible products” (p. 196). As it relates to education, Merton asks if teachers might not share the same prejudices, they were hired to combat.

...if the dominant in-group believes that Negroes are inferior, and set to it that funds for education are not ‘wasted on those incompetents’ and then proclaims as final evidence of this inferiority that Negroes have proportionately ‘only’ one-fifth as many college graduate as white, once can scarcely be amazed by this transparent it of social legerdemain (Merton, 1948).

Additionally, he forecasts short tenures for those teachers who take of the task of teaching in ways that confront racism supported in the home. Merton argues the false assumption that African Americans are inferior creates unequal schooling. Rosenthal and Jacobson (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968) and Brophy, Jeter, Jussim, and Rist (1970) also examined teacher training, practices, and attitudes. Brophy and Thomas’ (1969; 1982) studied teacher expectations and Geneva Gay (1974) and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission reported Black and White teacher interactions with white and non-white students in desegregated classes (Rights, 1973).

Gay (1974) found a relationship between lowered expectations and acceptance of poor performance on student success. While the effects were found to dissipate, rather than accumulate over time, self-fulfilling prophecies were found to occur among students of stigmatized groups selectively. Lack of praise and the acceptance of poor performance accompanied lowered expectations (Jere E Brophy & Thomas, 1982; Jussim & Harber,

2005). Gay (1974) studied recently desegregated social studies classes at the elementary, junior, and senior high levels. She found White teachers' verbal behaviors differed between Black and White students and that those behaviors stemmed from a lack of cultural and social knowledge about the students. White students "received more process questions, positive feedback and answers from teachers to questions they were unable to answer themselves" (p. 289). Gay also found Black students were less likely to interact with White teachers. Susan Tettegah's (1996) study of White teacher attitudes toward non-White students found a connection between White prospective teacher's racial attitudes and the way they rated non-White students across behavioral dimensions. African American students were rated lowest in cognitive-autonomous-motivational category of personality type. One must conclude racist attitudes affect students negatively.

Racist attitudes derived from a lack of cultural and social knowledge lead to the formation of expectations for Black students that differ from those of White students. White teachers expect poor performance, low cognitive skills, and a lack of autonomous motivation. Self-fulfilling prophecies in which Black students' behavior aligns with expectations and created when these expectations are combined with the lack of supportive praise. Additionally, self-fulfilling prophecies are reinforced when lowered expectations are merged with emphasis on controlling behavior.

Black teachers, acculturated to behave in the same way as White teachers, reinforce rather than challenge stereotypes. Gay (1974) found, Black teachers asked more process questions and had more positive behavioral contacts with White rather than Black

students. Black teachers also participated more as disciplinarians when among Black students. The report prepared by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found Black and White teachers both responded in more negative ways toward Mexican students than White students (Rights, 1973). The pressure to conform and to make Black students conform represented only one type of pressure Black teachers experienced. In addition to pressures exerted on Black teachers from both the Black and non-Black communities, education legislation diminished the numbers of Black teachers in the overall teaching force. The effects have been cumulative and devastating.

First, teaching has become an unviable employment option for African Americans. This is due in part, to the diminished role of Black teachers in the Black community and increased employment options in other fields. Second, Black teachers, pressured to function as cultural representatives and ambassadors, disciplinarians of Black students, and as responsible for racial uplift and progress, experience undue job pressures. Third, historic perceptions, which link education and activism, added the function of change agent to the growing list of teacher functions. In their function as change agents, Black teachers used education and their status in the community to confront the nearly widespread belief that Africans were inferior. To this end, they represented and taught Black cultural effects. Using scholarship as an act of activism and racial uplift, Black teachers documented Black enterprise, thought, and contributions to all fields of endeavors (Buckner, 1985a; Patterson & Mickelson, 2008; Schenbeck, 2012; Walker, 2001; Trotter, 1881).

Free and enslaved Africans in the British colonies of North America had to fight

two battlefronts in their struggle toward becoming literate. First, they had to fight those who opposed education. Second, they had to fight those who supported education but taught in ways using, textbooks, and curricula that reinforced White superiority and Black inferiority. Third, as a counter to both, Colonial Africans acquired teacher education and began the process of educating themselves (Morris, 1981; Southern, 1997). Teacher education was used to prepare Black teachers to help their students and their communities. Understanding the effects of race and culture, Free and enslaved Africans taught Race history. Race history was used as an intervention, correcting racist materials provided by mainstream society. Concerned with strengthening African American students, Black teachers offered racially relevant curricula to provide inspiration through racial uplift (Morris, 1981; Williams, 2005). Crouchett (1971) posits, “Shrewdly, these early black “teachers” and “preachers” gave private lessons in black history and culture unbeknown to whites” (p. 189).

Textbooks.

In his study of textbooks used in Freedmen Schools, Robert C. Morris (1980) found hidden agendas in the types of textbooks used before, during, and immediately following the Civil War. They represented three competing needs. Some textbooks were written with the primary goal of evangelism. Other textbooks were skewed to support the Abolition Movement. The last group of textbooks represented a strong impetus to perpetuate the status quo of White supremacy. Cora Lee Upshur-Ransome (2000) studied African Americans as represented in history textbooks. Upshur-Ransome concluded, “The African American disappeared after 1619 and didn’t reappear until the events

leading to the Civil War” (p. 1). She also found when Africans were mentioned in textbooks they were stereotyped and mentioned using derogatory terms.

Stereotyping and tokenism is found in music education texts as well. Ruth Zinar’s (1975) study of music books recommended for use in the education of children found the widespread use of stereotypes and denigrating language. The most egregious of the texts, *How Music Grew from Prehistoric Times to Present Day* (1925) by Bauer and Peyser, used the terms African and savage interchangeably. Africanisms found in African American music genres such as Jazz were described as primitive. Despite these failings, the textbook was reprinted at various points from 1926 to 1939. *Our American Music* (1946) by John Tasker Howard differentiates between the savage African and the African Americans, describing African American music as a revelation of the “real nature” of African Americans. Howard describes the real nature of the African American as being undeveloped with a child-like temperament and a shiftless, irresponsible character.

Zinar’s examination of music textbooks in the 50s and 60s yielded the following criticisms. African music is missing from Barbour and Freeman’s *Story of Music* (1950) and African American music is discussed using three sentences. One of those sentences does offer the music of African Americans as the greatest gift to American folk music. Only Jazz and folk songs are mentioned in Shippen and Seidlova’s *The Heritage of Music* (1965). Stereotyping is not found in John Rublowksy’s *Music in America* (1967). In fact, he devotes five chapters to the music of ethnic minorities. *The Sounds of Time: Western Man and His Music* (1969) by Nancy Hess and Grauman Wolf note the contributions of many to the history of American music and devote eight pages of the twenty-nine pages

concerning American music to African Americans. Missing from all texts studied, are Black contributions to the field of Western Art music. The absence of African American contributions to and participation in all genres and styles of music serves to exacerbate feelings of invisibility by Black students who have interests in something other than popular music genres.

This history of systemic institutional racism necessitated the organization of separate groups, educational systems, teacher trainings, and scholarship. Systemic racism affected the ways mainstream knowledge was produced and the ways teachers are trained. Further, this history affected written materials produced and used in classrooms, choices of curricula, and repertoire. The United States' history of systemic and institutional racism has negatively influenced Black music teachers and their students in the following primary ways. First, it necessitated Black teachers and students function as advocates for the rights and freedoms guaranteed all citizens of the United States in the Declaration of Independence (1776), the Constitution of the United States (1789), and in the Bill of Rights (1791). Second, this history required Black teachers provide interventions to racist thought and practice. Third, the history mandated Black music teachers create separate spaces where intellectual capital could be nurtured and expressed.

Systemic and institutional racism produced gaps in knowledge that is shared, documented, and taught in music programs at the public and the post-secondary levels of academia. Missing are the ways African American music instructors wove their political and social perspectives through their activities in and outside of the classroom. Invisible

are African American contributions beyond those in folk or popular music. Teacher preparation based on tainted information that minimizes or omits African American contributions, replicates and institutionalizes stereotypes and tokenism.

These gaps in knowledge are evident in music history, pedagogy, repertoire, and performance techniques. Gaps in historic knowledge rendered African American contributions invisible. Decreased numbers of Black teachers has led to feelings of isolation due to invisibility and hypervisibility. Invisible contributions, invisibility, and hypervisibility have worked together to produce lowered job satisfaction among African American teacher. In addition, the combination has invalidated teaching as a viable profession among African Americans.

Future music teachers are taught pedagogies supported by a canon of textbooks that do not include in any significant way, the contributions of African Americans. Given the vacuum created by the absence of inclusive information, future teachers are in danger of perpetuating and institutionalizing stereotypes, tokenism, and erroneous representations of Black contributions and participation. Even more problematic, aspiring African American teachers are given the impression their historical and cultural contributions to the field of education are insignificant or nonexistent (R. Moore, 2011). While pedagogies have begun to include techniques such as improvisation, little time is spend adequately training teachers in improvisation. Hence, improvisation becomes something fun and lacks the attention and seriousness due the skill.

Black Organizational Survival

Challenges to the survival of Black organizations is documented in the work of

Davis (1977), Hope (1980) and Johnson (1980). Elements that negatively affect the survival of Black volunteer organizations include structural elements like fiscal instability and traditional Black leadership styles. Internal conflict within the organization caused by strained relationships between founders and new members present additional challenges to the stability of the organization. External challenges to organizational survival include balancing the push to assimilate to White middle class values and the pull to fulfill cultural mandates to preserve Africanisms leading to an ever-expanding mission that caused membership burnout.

Fiscal Instability.

Adequate fiscal resources to meet normal expenses incurred in the implementation of organizational mission are crucial to the survival, the level and quality of organizational functioning (Davis, 1980). Davis studied five major Black organizations using fiscal reports. His conclusions related to this study of BMETC include: (a) Black organizations do survive but with minimal resources and stability, (b) the minimal resources acquired are too insufficient and too unpredictable to allow black organizations to achieve the goals and objectives they establish – historically, currently, or futuristically, and (c) problems occur when these organizations rely too heavily on White resources.

Black Leadership Styles.

Three main types identify the historic evolution of Black leadership styles. The first is the charismatic leader, the second is the traditional leader, and the third is the

professional leader. The first Black leadership style was based on charismatic leaders whose appeal, apt communication skills, winning personality, zeal, courage, and manner propelled them to the forefront of organizations, institutions, and movements. Though followers of these leaders share common interests, they are bound to each other and to the organization, institution, or movement more through the leader than through their common interests.

The growth of an organization and its many responsibilities require delegation of duties. Those to whom responsibilities were delegated were typically, original followers who become representatives of the original charismatic leader. This representative leadership group becomes powerful in the sense they are more knowledgeable about the day to day activities of the organization than the leader. While original leader is “kept in the loop,” he or she does not necessarily make decisions. The charismatic leader becomes enshrined and in some cases deified. Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), charismatic founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, The Black Star Line and the African Communities League, typifies this leadership style. Though Garvey, his organizations, and businesses were originally quite successful, his organization was infiltrated by F.B.I. agents, his shipping line was sabotaged, and in 1923 Garvey was indicted for mail fraud by the U.S. Justice Department. After spending two years in prison, he was deported to Jamaica. He attempted, but was never able to regain his previous influence

The next phase black leadership is the traditional leader. The traditional leader distinguishes him or herself by developing structural capital to remedy organizational problems such as poor communication, financial transparency, and professional

development. These remedies include budget reporting and board training. The leadership style of W. E. B. Dubois (1868-1963) as founding officer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) represented the characteristics of the traditional leader. As director of publicity and research, and editor of *The Crisis*, the journal of the NAACP, Dubois presented human and structural capital in the form of opinion pieces and scholarly articles. The journal facilitated communication, educated, and provided professional development for those who would contribute to the African American Intellectual tradition.

The rise of structural capital required the development of the next Black leadership style; the professional leader. The professional leader embodies characteristics of the previous two leadership styles. He or she is often charismatic, prioritizes the development of structural capital, but with an eye to the future, promotes organizational flexibility so that the organization is able to address emerging needs while maintaining organizational integrity. These leaders can be founders, but more often are hired by the organization's board of directors or are elected by membership. As this is current practice, the current leaders of the NAACP provide examples of this leadership style.

Hope (1980) argues while the leadership styles discussed above might be found in current Black organizations, missing from the discussion of Black leadership styles is the impact of racism on the development of Black leadership. He argues, racism prevents Black organizations from moving from a charismatic leader to a professional leader because White Allies become attached to charismatic leaders. Their attachment to the leader and the organization, in the form of financial support and publicity, binds an

organization to a leader, whose leadership style may not, in some cases, be healthy to the organization. Missing, however, from the discussions of Hope and the scholars he cites are the effects of sex, gender and class on the development of leadership.

African-American Duality

W. E. B. Dubois coined the term, *double consciousness* to describe the internal conflict experienced by oppressed groups. Double consciousness identifies the psychological conflict that occurs when a member of an oppressed group is forced to embrace multiple and conflicting identities. Through institutional and systemic racism, African Americans are consistently presented a negative image of themselves, which is not supported, by the image of themselves as beautiful, which is supported, by their own families and community. Geneva Smitherman (2006) relates this conflict linguistically, coining the term, “push pull’ syndrome. In the syndrome, African Americans are pushed toward proficiency in the ways White society communicates, and feels the pull of simultaneously loving and hating Black vernacular communication. Within the context of organizational leadership, the *pull* is represented by the mandate by mainstream society that the Black leaders embody Black stereotypes to be authentic. The *push* is represented by the Black community’s need for apt leadership that moves beyond stereotypes. The push-pull syndrome is further complicated when the African American community rejects professional leaders, that do not embrace accepted stereotypes, as unable to provide authentic representation of the community.

Extended Kinship.

Johnson (Johnson, 1980) found Black organizations have historically functioned most successfully when strong relationships with their communities of color are developed and maintained. The kinship offered through membership in communities is time honored in African social groups from the 1700s through the current time. Black organizations by necessity were intergenerational. This commitment naturally flowed from the desire to care for members of the Black community from birth to death. It also was prioritized as a way to prepare a new generation of leaders. This history of commitment to youth and a new generation of leaders was most often seen in the tradition of organizing schools for community members teaching all ages from childhood through to adulthood and of institutions that trained teachers. The first of these, organized in the 1700s, occurred in Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

Black organizations and institutions featured informal mentorship in which youth were not just exposed to issues facing their community, but were trained and encouraged to participate as change agents. Examples of intergenerational activities in Black organizations include youth and college divisions with the National Association for the Advancement of Negro People (NAACP), and the Education and Youth Development Division of the National Urban League. In the field of music, the National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM) has always maintained youth and children's divisions.

Statement of the Problem

The United States is experiencing what is being called a crisis. The number of Black teachers has been decreasing since the Brown vs. Board of Education Decision in

1954. At the same time, the numbers of students of color has increased. Additionally, Black students' academic performance is at lower rates than that of their White counterparts. Scholars consistently argue teachers of color are necessary to close the gaps between the numbers of Black teachers and the numbers of Black students. Affecting the viability of teaching as a preferred occupation are the availability of professions historically closed to African Americans and racist practices within academic institutions.

Part of racist praxis is the use of teaching and teacher preparation materials that maintain status quo thinking making Black participation in music and music education invisible. The gaps in knowledge found in music and teacher preparation materials regard the vast canon of music composed by composers of African descent, misinformation concerning the culture and performance practices of African American music, and the missing prolific contributions of African Americans in the field of music and music education. These gaps, created and maintained by institutional and systemic racism, have produced musical stereotypes and faulty music teaching praxis.

Examples of faulty music praxis include valuing the music and performance practices of western Europeans above the music and performance practices of African Americans, the absence of varied representations of African Americans in the repertoire chosen for the classroom and the concert hall. An example of music stereotyping is the practice of encouraging Black students to pursue musical careers in pop, rather than symphonic music. Anthony D. Elliott, BMETC and principal cellist of the Minnesota Orchestra expressed concern Black students were not being encouraged to pursue symphonic careers after a series of visits to Twin Cities' public schools (Buckner, 1975).

Stereotypes and tokens are presented as a truism that is disseminated and perpetuated in music classrooms, through professional teacher associations and by extension communities. When disseminated by those seen as knowledgeable professionals, the information, practices and beliefs become standardized. This tainted praxis exacts an immense toll on Black students. Minimizing and erasing Black contributions as music teachers has led to smaller numbers of Black music students pursuing post-secondary degrees in music education. The lower numbers of Black classroom teachers hurt not only Black students but all students. The supposition that African American students actively select African American teachers as role models is supported by multiple studies and is used as the impetus for demanding recruitment priorities directed toward training, recruiting and hiring African American teachers in all subject areas (Hamann & Walker, 1993). A 1993 study of 811 African American high school students enrolled in music classes in the Cleveland, Ohio public school system found 34 % of students selected as their role models African American teachers of the same sex. This selection was true of both music and non-music teachers. Beverly Cole (1986) opines, “Black teachers can have a special impact on Black students simply by being in the classroom. A Black teacher serves as a role model for Black students thereby exposing Black students to other Black individuals who have been successful” (p. 736).

Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the cycle of negative effects created faulty music praxis. The invisibility of contributions by Black music teachers are exemplified as gaps in knowledge leading to stereotyping and the use of tokens. Stereotypes and token become praxis. Left only with the models of Black musicians in

popular genres, Black students are not encouraged by example to pursue symphonic careers. Students who are unaware of the immense contributions African Americans have made to music education do not envision music education as a preferred avenue of study or as a viable career option. The gaps in knowledge, invisible contributions and the use of stereotypes and tokens combined with prevailing perspectives that popular music is inferior to symphonic music leads to lower academic achievement. Lowered academic achievement, as a self-fulfilling prophecy, reinforces inferiority and the achievement gap widens. The cycle continues as Black music students chose not to pursue symphonic careers or careers in education. The cycle repeats as fewer students pursue careers in symphonic music or music education. The lower number of African Americans in these fields further supports the misconception African Americans did not and do not contribute to these fields. The lowered number of visible African Americans as symphonic musicians and as teachers normalizes the perception there are no significant contributions from African Americans to the field thus cementing the gaps in knowledge (Douglas, Lewis, Douglas, Scott, & Garrison-Wade, 2008; Oakley, Stowell, & Logan, 2009; Southall, 1974b; Stewart Jr, Meier, & England, 2014).

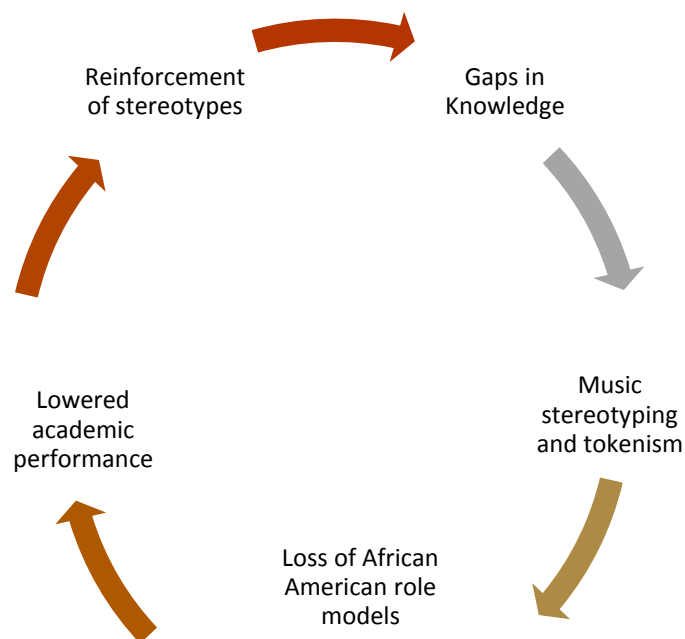


Figure 1. Cycle of negative effects due to gaps in knowledge

Black volunteer organizations experience pressures different from mainstream organizations because they must maintain an organization. At the same time, Black organizations must continually expand their mission in response to continued effects of systemic institutional racism. Faced with ever-changing priorities of grant-awarding entities, they operate on shoestring budgets. Black leadership, historically based on charisma puts the organization into patterns where personalities determine action and conflict arise ultimately diminishing organizational effectiveness.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant because it

- a) Fills gaps in music education history, making the history of public school

music education in the United States more inclusive, leading to increased numbers of Black students pursuing symphonic careers and careers in music education who provide examples of role models ultimately leading to closing the achievement gap

b) Provides information that can be used in today's efforts to make educational pedagogies culturally relevant and socially responsive, dismantling music stereotypes; and

c) Offers a unique examination of an organization of Black music teachers using invisible assets, intellectual capital.

Gaps in music education history must be filled to offer an educational experience that is truly multicultural and embodies current prioritization of social and cultural justice. Recent discussions of teacher education reform have centered on social justice and equity with the outcome of providing equitable and just education experiences for students. This includes social reform in schools and re-training teachers to better prepare them for the variety of student populations found in America's public school systems. Paris (2012) supports the research of Ladson-Billings and others advocating that social justice and equity cannot be accomplished without honoring the "languages, and literacies and practices" of all students and their communities and extending these to the social/cultural justice project (96). Gloria Ladson-Billings (1998b), Smith-Maddox (1998) and others propose using culture as a dimension of academic achievement and in teacher assessments.

Ladson-Billings (1995) advocates for the use of culturally relevant pedagogies as a part of the focus on social justice and as a way to increase the academic success of

students of color. Her research has provided examples from Hawaii and among First Nations' people where the inclusion of cultural instruction improved the academic performance of students. These studies located the sources of student failure and success within the interaction patterns between teacher and student. Her recommendations include: producing students who can achieve academically, demonstrate cultural competence, and who understand and critique the existing social norms. Ladson-Billings' definition of cultural competence allows individuals to maintain their own cultural effects and heritage while gaining access to dominant cultural effects. The researcher terms this simply, bi-culturalism.

The Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities (BMETC) contributed human, structural and external capital. A study of these contributions will add to educational knowledge used in teacher education and provide a new option for studying the contributions of Black music teachers. This research can be used to affect positively music education policy, decreasing the negative effects of music stereotyping leading to increases in Black student academic productivity and teacher job satisfaction.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to (a) provide a documented history of BMETC filling gaps within current music education history; (b) to render visible the contributions of African American music educators in St. Paul and Minneapolis in Minnesota; and (c) to discover BMETC's legacy, influence and impact through an investigation of its intellectual capital.

Primary Research Questions

The primary research questions addressed are:

- (a) What is the history of BMETC? How is this history representative of the lineage of All-Black organizations?
- (b) What did BMETC members produce in the form of intellectual capital?
- (c) What evidence of legacy, influence and impact is identified by BMETC's intellectual capital?

Theoretical Framework

Overlapping and interactive issues of Race, Class, and Sex necessitates using Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a conceptual framework and interpretive mode for this study of BMETC. First, CRT is a necessary framework because members of BMETC experienced racism and formed the organization to counter the effects systemic institutional racism seen in stereotyping and tokenism. “It is impossible to understand the origins and function of black self-help activities outside the framework of American racism” (L. G. Davis, 1980, p. 48). Second, institutional racism represented by the patterns and practices found in public school systems and culture-producing organizations in the Twin Cities affected the types of intellectual capital produced by BMETC. Third, the work of BMETC to counter Racism involved making racist practices visible. Fourth, the challenges faced by Black organizations leading to their demise are unique and must be discussed within the context of the effects of racism.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) originated as a form of legal scholarship in the 1970s responding to the failed progress of traditional civil rights legislation. Patricia Williams

and Derrick Bell developed and examined a set of theories used by legal scholars (Hockett, 1977). Derrick Bell (1930-2011) held many academic and government posts during his career. Bell, as an assistant counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, assisted with constructing legal strategies designed to undo segregation in the public school system. During his tenure at Harvard Law School his case study “Race, Racism, and American Law” was published. It has been continuously in print since 1973. Bell’s primary propositions are as follows. First, Racism is normative. Second, White-over-color ascendancy serves psychological and materialistic purposes for the dominant group. Third, the social construction thesis holds that race and races are products of social thought and relationships. Fourth, a dominant society racializes different minority groups at different times in response to shifting economic conditions and the self-interest of elite Whites (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Lawyer, scholar, and law professor, Patricia J. Williams examines the intersection of race, gender, and class using the technique of storytelling. Beginning with her first publication *The Alchemy of Race and Rights* (1992), through blogs, essays, short stories, and articles Williams uses critical literacy and legal theory to discover, analyze, and criticize the impacts of these interactions. Since its beginnings, CRT has evolved as a form of oppositional scholarship challenging the experience of European Americans as the standard of normalcy (Tillman, 2008). CRT argues that while policies of affirmative action and civil rights legislation were enacted to support Americans of color; it was European Americans who ultimately, benefitted (E. Taylor, 1998).

In the 1990s, Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate explored CRT as it relates

to education. They argue for the development of a critical race theoretical perspective in education that is comparable to critical race theory within legal scholarship. They recommended three propositions (a) race continues to be significant in the United States; (b) United States' society is based on property rights rather than human rights; and (c) intersections of race and property create an analytical tool for understanding inequities (Gloria Ladson-Billings, 1998a; Tate, 1997). Floyd (1982) argues the only valid way to teach musical genres and styles contributed to by Black Americans is from a Black perspective. CRT argues, Black music be explored, critiqued and taught not from the perspective of a European norm, but from a culturally relevant perspective.

The United States of America's history of slavery and systemic institutional racism necessitated the creation of separate societies and within those societies separate institutions. The simplified historical lineage of the African response to slavery and systemic racism can be expressed in this way. The first wave is represented by volunteer organizations that focused on filling gaps in services to Free and enslaved Africans. Almost simultaneously was the creation of All-Black churches, again necessary because Africans were either not allowed to worship in mainstream churches, or were not able to worship as equals. These volunteer organizations and churches organized educational institutions, taught self-reliance, and began the long battle toward freedom, full representation in society, and equality.

Having to tackle the creation of a separate society while simultaneously battling slavery and racism put additional pressures on Black organizations, not experienced by comparable organizations in mainstream society. In addition to the common

organizational pressures of maintaining organizational structure, advocating for membership and perceived stakeholders, and securing financial support Black organizations had additional requirements to respond to racism, stereotyping, and unjust legislation and practices. These pressures, in addition to changing priorities in funding sources (also related to racism), severely hampered some organizations ability to remain effective throughout its lifespan. The unique situation of forced separatism resulted in unique cultural effects evidenced in spiritual elements found in secular settings, the tendency for Black organizations to function as intergenerational families, and the production of unique leadership patterns (L. G. L. G. Davis, 1980; Hope, 1980; A. E. Johnson, 1980; Sanders, 1980; Springer, 2001).

The work of Bell and others describe interest convergence as the conflict between the needs, agendas, and desires of African-Americans and European Americans. Bell applied this tenet specifically to the historic *Brown v. Board of Education* case in which the end product of racial justice centered on remedies that did not impede the social interests of middle and upper class Whites (Bell Jr., 1980). This tenet and an accompanying CRT tenet of counter-storytelling can be used to discuss the types of intellectual capital produced by African Americans. Counter-storytelling is described by Solórzano and Yosso (2002) as a method of telling the stories of people whose experiences are invisible. These stories can be used expose, challenge, and analyze narratives and characterizations of power and privilege.

Racism necessitated organizations such as NANM, BMC, FABD, and BMETC simultaneously focus on practicing high standards in Western performance techniques

while cultivating recognition and appreciation of performances of Black music. While having the ability to research all topics, Black scholars found themselves pressured to fill gaps in knowledge and provide Black representation as a counter to mainstream knowledge and history. Finally, music and music education represent fields in which the Black production of intellectual capital was encouraged and financially supported by White Americans because it benefited them.

The use of the CRT framework is also necessary as BMETC members experienced the effects of desegregation/integration efforts and CRT combines issues of race with class, and sex/gender. BMETC formed in the 1970s to respond to the lack of resources available to Black music students and teachers. These resources were missing due to racial disparities. Legislation enacted by local, state, and the federal government represents an attempt to correct the disparities created by institutional and systemic racism. A brief discussion of desegregation/integration plans in the Twin Cities is necessary because of BMETC's geographical home.

The desegregation/integration plans in the Twin Cities identified schools having high concentrations of Black teachers and students as in need of desegregation. These efforts meant sending Black students and teachers to White schools and school systems where they became minorities. As minorities, Black students and teachers were more likely to experience prejudice and discriminatory practices in schools in which they were a minority. A form of discrimination included steering Black students toward stereotypical musical forms. For example, Anthony Elliot, then Assistant Principal Cellist of the Minnesota Orchestra, opined Black music students were discouraged from entering

symphonic careers.

Class exhibited through the acquisition of property, also plays a role in the creation of BMETC. Teachers, social workers, secretaries, and nurses provided the entry point for Black citizens into the middle-class. Because of the preoccupation on lower economic classes in inner-city neighborhoods, the Black middle class is virtually forgotten as a subject worthy of research (Pattillo-McCoy, 1999). Acquiring private lessons for their children has historically been a part of becoming middle-class for White and Black Americans since the 1700s (Southern, 1997). A report by the Pew Research Center found while the Black Middle-class households saw gains in real income since 1979 and peaking in 1999, those gains are unstable. Compared to middle-class White households, Black households have seen a 14 % decrease in their earnings. Affecting the decrease of available income for Black middle-class families is their tendency to give or lend large share of money to relatives. The report also found Black children raised in middle-class households (the late 70s to the early 80s) more likely to fall out of the middle class upon reaching adulthood (Pew Research Center, 2015).

Sex and gender also play a role in Black organizations like the BMETC. Jesus, Jobs, and Justice by Collier-Thomas (2010) uncovers the complicated relationship between Black men and women in the field of religion. Collier-Thomas tells the stories of politically active Black women who used their fundraising skills, scholarship, and abilities to network to support male-dominated churches. Though the women in effect, held the purse strings, they continued to struggle with Black male pastors, paternalistic White male leadership, and White feminists who wanted them to concede their rights to

effect decisions regarding the money they raised and to restrict themselves and their activism to a narrow domestic sphere.

In conclusion, racial inequities necessitated the creation of the BMETC. Its relationship to the middle class informed the types of intellectual capital its members created. The ongoing problems of the middle class no doubt created the need to support students in ever-increasing ways. Understanding the workings of society in some ways affected the election of its leaders. These interlocking issues, race, class, and sex provide the framework for examining the intellectual capital of BMETC and the output, influence, and legacy captured by its intellectual capital.

Research Design and Method

The researcher will employ methods common to historical research to examine and evaluate organizational archives. Intellectual capital produced by BMETC's members will be used to identify and analyze the organization's output and legacy. Since the primary research will be conducted by examining archives, it is important to discuss archival research as a part of the method. This section begins with an introduction to the four archives.

Archival Research.

Four archive sets were used in the study of BMETC. Two were housed in professional library settings, namely the Minnesota Historical Society and the Elmer L. Anderson Library located at the University of Minnesota. One archive set was stored in the home of Margaret LaFleur. The last archive was given to the researcher by former

BMETC president, W. Rayford Johnson in a cloth bag and two three-ring binders.

Minnesota History Center.

Archives for BMETC are part of the Manuscripts Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society (MNHS) held in the Gale Family Library (St Paul, MN). The archive finding identifies Kit Smemo as having processed the archive in August 2005. Dr. Geneva H. Southall is listed as the primary author. It also says BMETC ceased operations in 1994. Most of the materials contained in the archives are from the period of 1980 to 1986 and are described in this way.

Administrative records, historical and publicity materials, and programmatic materials documenting the most active and influential years of an association formed by African American music teachers to provide outreach, assistance, and promotion for young Black musicians and composers in Minnesota (Smemo, 2005).

The items are contained in three boxes. The first box contains 28 folders of general files covering 1973-1992. The second box contains 11 folders from 1992-1993 membership lists and unrelated materials from 1988-1993. Box 2 also contains 3 scrapbooks covering 1974-1983. Box 3 contains 4 volumes of scrapbooks covering the period of 1984-1987. The finding aid offers this historical note.

The Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities (BMETC) was created as an outreach program to provide assistance for young black musicians. Founded in 1974 by African-American musicians and teachers in the Twin Cities, the goal of the organization was to promote black musicians, composers, and students of

music through scholarships and access to instruments and instructors. The BMETC was a branch of the National Association of Negro Musicians, the country's oldest African American cultural organization, but over time developed into an autonomous organization. The BMETC ceased its operations in 1994 (Smemo, 2005).

The archives held at the Minnesota History Center were the starting point for my research of the organization. Because the finding aid's years of 1974-1994 set the delimitation of the study for 1974-1994.

University of Minnesota Archives.

The University of Minnesota collects and preserved administrative materials from academic and non-academic programs and departments. These archives are held in the Elmer L. Andersen Library (Minneapolis, Minnesota). The finding aid describes the content of this archive as: "The collection contains administrative materials regarding the founding and activities of the Department of African and African American Studies at the University of Minnesota. Materials include faculty files, meeting minutes and agendas, newsletters, handbooks, correspondence, and memos" (Wright, n.d.).

The archive is represented by five boxes organized by year. In July 2008 John S. Wright, then department chair of the African and African American Studies Department, transferred files to be archived. One folder labeled Black Music Educators was found in Box 1 covering the period of 1972-1994. Contained in this folder were correspondence copies from Dr. Southall that were found in other archival sources.

Personal Archives of Margaret B. LaFleur.

Margaret LaFleur served BMETC in various capacities as Secretary (1975-1981), Vice-President (1982-1983), as President from 1983 to 1984, and on various committees. Her records covered the period of 1974-2004. They were primarily organizational records, but also included new articles, program brochures and fliers, and conference booklets. Ms. LaFleur gave the researcher access to those files on two separate occasions for several weeks each time. LaFleur's archives also contained information regarding the National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM).

Personal Archives of W. Rayford Johnson.

On Saturday, April 30, Mr. Johnson brought the primary researcher a cloth bag filled with folders and individual papers. This cloth bag represented a portion of his archives. Johnson's complete archives include his compositions, arrangements, and curricula, materials from his many years as an educator/conductor, items from his work with multiple local and national organizations, and personal items. The documents included organizational correspondence, publicity, and documents. Organizational items pertaining to the National Black Music Caucus were also included. At a meeting on October 8, 2016, at the home of W. Rayford Johnson and his wife, Johnson provided the researcher with two three-ring binders labeled BMETC. In the binders were multiple copies of agendas, meeting minutes, correspondence, and brochures from 1974 to 1977.

Archival Method.

This dissertation is not a true archival dissertation because the dissertation focuses

on the history of BMETC as evidenced in archives, not a study of the archives themselves, as archives. That being said, the use of archives necessitates a brief discussion of the archival method as it relates to this study. The use of archival research method is a misnomer as there does not appear to be a consensus on whether or not this research exists as a single method. Gilliland-Swetland (2000) suggests diplomatics as the closest method associated with the historical development and the practices found in archival science. The need to distinguish between original documents and forgeries necessitated the development of the *Science of Diplomatics*. Authenticity lies at the root of this need and, therefore, lies at the root of the science. Morris and Rose (2010) describe confirming authenticity and integrity of the archives and understanding original order as two of the most significant theories guiding archival research. Provenance or identification of the chain of custody confirms the authenticity and integrity of archives. Provenance can help confirm perspective of the information preserved and lead the researcher to search for ways to fill gaps left in written materials. The original order of archival documents assists with understanding the relationships between the various records themselves. Cautioning researchers not to impose their personal organizational principles on the archive, Morris and Rose instead encourage the researcher to “devote their efforts to identifying and clarifying the organizational principles followed by the creator, recognizing the arrangement itself may be of interest and significance to researchers” (Ramsey, 2010, p.55).

Glenn and Enoch (2010) identify several agents important to archival research. Collaborative relationships with archivists are encouraged since they make decisions

regarding access, description, indexing, and preservation. A second agent by Glenn and Enoch identified regards primary and secondary audiences who, having written about the organization, communicate knowledge, opinions, and understanding. The researcher is also an agent as he or she through the act of the production of representative renderings of the archive creates through archival reflection a history that is in some way subjective and filled with value statements.

Archives are not within themselves, living things. The archivist must understand archives are primarily about people and the roles they have played in creating and preserving archives. Neal Learner (2010) encourages the archivist to consider what archival authors and their networks represent. Learner's points are important considerations for examining and interpreting archives. Considering both the archival author and the milieu in which he or she lived and had influence enlivens and incarnates paper and photos. What is one-dimensional becomes multi-dimensional as the paper and photos become expressions of people, their hopes, and dreams. Prioritizing those who played a role in creating the archive elevates what remains from mere paper to living history. Since archives are expressions of life, it makes sense then that archival educators are encouraged to include the methods of diplomatics, historiography, survey research, and case studies in programs that teach archival research. The archives will represent written history for the purposes of this dissertation.

Words whether in written or spoken form, are central to this study. Qualitative studies are studies in which words are central and where "quality refers to the nature of things, rather than to their quantity" (Lerner, 2010, p. 293). Interviews serve to reconnect

and confirm written documents with narrative forms of history and memories. The interview provides the researcher with an interactive opportunity to interrogate history and to not only obtain information but also obtain attitudes and feelings (Strang, 1939). A continuum of interview structure discussed includes interviews with structured questions at one end and at the other end, minimally pre-structured interviews. In the latter, the interview is not standardized, leaving room for improvisation. This interview type was chosen because it allows the interviewer to “tease out” information that clarifies and interprets what is presented as facts in the archives. It also allows provides ways the interview can be directed toward the interviewees’ areas of organizational knowledge. While standardization of interviews does not necessarily promote reliability and validity, authenticity is achieved by skillfully varying the interview for each interviewee (Heyink & Tymstra, 1993; Strang, 1939). Seven informal interviews were conducted. Those interviewed included Margaret LaFleur, Patricia Jones, Ron Brown, Judy Henderson, Velma Warder, Holly A. Berry, and Lloyd Winfield. In cases where direct quotes from conversation were used, those quotes were cleared with the interviewee.

Memory is a consideration inherent in the use of interviews. David Thelen (1989) concludes historical memory is “profoundly intertwined with the basic identities of individuals, groups, and cultures...” (p. 117). Specific memories can be used to inform researchers about the significance of events. Divergent information given in an interview as oral history can significantly vary from written information. Memories themselves can provide evidence of a different kind of truth as they provide meaning (Yow 1994; McDowell 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Curtis et al. (2000) provide the following as important to appropriately selecting who to interview. A purpose or goal informs the method of selecting samples. Either the selection process itself is conceptually driven by a theoretical framework or an evolving theory derived from the data. With the method presented by Curtis in mind, potential interviewees were selected based on their involvement with BMETC and their abilities to provide clarity and interpretation of information found in the archives. Interviews used in this way will not require qualitative analysis.

Historical Method.

This dissertation constructs a history of BMETC. The historical method assists with the examination of the organization as an artifact of history. The purpose of the historical method is to provide an understanding of an organization, individual, or social, from its political and economic circumstances. Historical research often necessitates the use of approaches from other research methods, or what Phelps (1980) calls generally accepted tenets of narrative history including internal and external criticism. Three objectives in historical research include reviewing past events, maintaining a record of current events, and the development of methods to evaluate evidence and provide a meaningful documentation of event (Shafer & Bennett, 1980). Susan Grigg (1991) combines archival practice with historical method. Practices found in archival research furnishes a framework for identifying and locating evidence. Archives provide a three-dimensional space that includes historical activity, the system of repositories, and the system of finding aids.

Three primary elements of historical research include identification of primary

materials, external and critical analysis, and interpretation. The archives, as primary materials, were identified by an online search using “Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities.” This search revealed the archives found at the Minnesota History Center. During efforts to get the archives sent to the University of Minnesota, which is open more hours and days, one folder was found in the files from the African/African American Studies department. The researcher was aware of Margaret LaFleur and W. Rayford Johnson through earlier work with the Plymouth Music Series Witness program in the public school system. When their names were found in the archives, a phone call was placed to Ms. LaFleur who was invaluable in locating members of BMETC still living in the Twin Cities, including W. Rayford Johnson. Ms. LaFleur was in the process of moving, so the BMETC files were in boxes, which she loaned to the researcher on two separate occasions.

Criticism of Documents and Archives

Heller and Wilson (1982) term the process of verifying evidence the “heart of a historian’s responsibility” (p.10). Two tasks that must be accomplished in the authentication of historical evidence include determining authorship and dating. Unlike the recommendation in archival research, Heller includes restoration of original serial order to the authentication process. Classifying the nature of documents, determining bias, and interpreting meaning are additional tasks. The final task includes corroboration of evidence.

BMETC members authenticate data stored as meeting agendas and minutes; official correspondence and organizational publicity as appropriate representations of

facts. This authentication occurred in accepting minutes and agendas. Some minutes include a statement of authorship providing authentication. The empowerment of elected officers to act as the “official voice” of the organization as well as signed correspondence provide authentication of correspondence. Elected officers empowered with documenting the history of the organization constructed scrapbooks. Given these factors, it must be concluded the archives represent authentic data and information that in turn confirms the credibility of narrators. Information and data gathered from archives and supported by informational interviews formed the basis for creating a history of BMETC, provided evidence of intellectual capital and assisted with a critical examination of BMETC’s legacy.

Intellectual Capital.

Intellectual capital is not a research method per se, but it can be used to explore elements of BMETC not immediately visible as assets of the organization. The categories of intellectual capital are human capital, structural capital, and external/customer capital. Examples of human capital include skills, knowledge, and talent. In this dissertation, knowledge artifacts include musical compositions, critical essays, dissertations, books, curricula, bibliographies, repertoire lists, and articles both academic, and non-academic. Structural capital includes organizational processes and routines, which often reflects external and internal focal points of the organization at specific points in time. Identified as structural capital in this dissertation are constitutions, organizational policies, meeting structure, and organizational culture (Kong, 2014). Networks of support and service including membership, academic institutions, professional associations, culture-

producing organizations, and communities supply evidence of external or customer capital.

Academia has historically been seen as the primary repository for knowledge. It is through academia that knowledge is created, preserved, and imparted to society at-large. Unfortunately, academic knowledge or human capital has always carried with it presuppositions and values with regard to race, class, sex, and gender. Music education as an academic endeavor is no different. Entrenched are traditions that are exclusionary, prioritizing the intellectual capital of mainstream, upper-middle class, heterosexual males as the norm and everything else and the “other.” As seen in the previous sections on multiculturalism, the “other” is often presented or represented using tokenism or stereotypes.

For teachers, human capital in the form of knowledge is created, nurtured, and proliferated each time a lesson is taught, an assessment is administered, a curriculum is reviewed, or scholarly writings are produced and read (Myer, 1936). I argue the same is true for students. Students learn from choices of curriculum, textbooks, and repertoire. Students also gain knowledge through contact experiences with teachers and from the environment created in the classroom and school. Editor, educator, and publisher Walter Evert Myer (1889-1955) used the term intellectual capital as it relates to teachers in a brief article in 1936. Intellectual capital acquired by teachers is identified only as the acquisition of knowledge through formal education. The brief article recommends the teacher as an intellectual worker budget his or her time so that they can become inspired by the acquisition of new facts and ideas. Nothing here expresses the work of a teacher in

providing the environment in which students can develop intellectual capital of their own (Myer, 1936). Young (2012) uses intellectual capital to discuss teacher development and training. She, like Myer, focused solely on the knowledge production and dissemination through curricula. These two studies represent the minimal history of intellectual capital in music education.

The methods used to construct BMETC's history will combine methods found in archival and historical research. These two methods were chosen because of the usage of archives as primary source materials leading to the construction of a history of BMETC. Intellectual capital and Critical Race Theory (CRT) represent the frameworks used to examine the output, influence, and legacy of BMETC members.

Limitation and Scope

Though the Minnesota History Centers identified BMETC as having ceased operations in 1994, conversations with BMETC members have shown the organization in some fashion has continued to exist to the present time. The use of the archives held at MNHS necessitates the use of BMETC's beginnings from 1974 to 1994 as the historical span of this dissertation. Though researcher bias could be considered a limitation, the researcher's primary involvement with the BMETC was peripheral. This involvement includes working as a Teaching Assistant for Reginald Buckner and Geneva Southall at the University of Minnesota, having received a donation from BMETC in 1988 toward tuition expenses, and performing at one BMETC-sponsored event as the accompanist for a BMETC member. The researcher recently attended two meetings of BMETC members as they discussed the use of remaining scholarship funds, but am not nor have ever been a

member of BMETC. The recent interactions with BMETC members have assisted with locating additional documents and stories that provide context for documents.

Delimitation.

One of the goals of this research is to fill the gaps in music education history with the contributions, influence, and legacy of BMETC, an African American organization. To that end, the focus will be only African American intellectual capital within music and music education. A secondary delimitation lies in those chosen for interviews and in the type of interviews used. A full history of BMETC's history can only be completed after a search of all of the archives of organizations and institutions within the milieu of BMETC's influence and after a substantial number of interviews. This dissertation does not seek to construct the entire history of BMETC but instead represents a beginning. Because of this, only a few archives will be used to provide information leading to the documented history. Interviews will be used to confirm and make richer information found in archived materials.

Summary

This dissertation constructs a preliminary history of the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities from 1974-1994. It further examines the output and legacy of the organization through the identification and analysis of BMETC's intellectual capital. Chapter 1 provided an abstract and laid the foundations from which BMETC emanates and can be explored. Chapter 2 situates the founding of the BMETC within the historical production of intellectual capital in music and music education. BMETC's first twenty-

years of history is discussed in chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 focuses on milestones, and Chapter 4 focuses on intellectual capital. The final chapter discusses BMETC's legacy and presents recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2: Historical Context

Introduction

The institution of systemic racism affected the types of intellectual capital produced by African Americans. Under racism, the following four trends developed, first, some knowledge was developed over other forms of knowledge. Second, some fields of study were prioritized over other fields of study. Third, specific intellectual capital was encouraged and financially supported as it benefitted White society. Fourth, racism necessitated expanded roles for Black teachers including additional burdens to (a) be role models as well as representatives of Black culture (b) provide racial uplift as an intervention in mainstream education, and (c) participate as activists in various freedom movements (Dantas, 2008; Williams, 2005). This chapter presents a brief history of how African American intellectual capital contributed to the fields of music education and situates BMETC within the historical and cultural lineage of Black intellectual capital. The chapter will close with a brief history of desegregation efforts in the St. Paul and Minneapolis public school systems to provide the background of public school relationships under which BMETC members taught.

Human Capital

Intellectual property, knowledge, capabilities, and “know-how” are categorized as human capital. Examples include musical compositions, scholarship including critical essays, dissertations, books, bibliographies, repertoire lists, and teaching strategies found in curricula, articles, and papers. During the 1600s through the 1860s, African human

capital included knowledge brought with them to the United States; knowledge learned for the benefit of their enslavers as enslaved individuals, and knowledge acquired to provide for themselves and their families. This knowledge base enabled Africans in the United States to develop written, spoken, composed, and technical human capital to provide freedom of the mind if not also of the body. Support for and access to specific avenues of education perpetuated the development of human capital used in the construction trades, in math, music and music education.

Memory and Literacy Skills.

Heather Williams's text, "Self-Taught" (2005), examines the use of memory (a) to access knowledge, (b) to acquire the communication skills of reading and writing, and (c) to achieve aspects of freedom. The sources used in Williams' research included slave narratives, autobiographies, military records, Freedmen records, and the archives of missionary groups and Black colleges. To acquire knowledge, free and enslaved Africans eavesdropped on conversations. Writing this information down was dangerous and illegal so enslaved and free African developed keen memory skills enabling them to pass information on orally. Former slave, Henry Bibb (1815-1854) confirmed this practice. "Slaves were not allowed books, pen, ink, nor paper to improve their minds. But, it seems to me now, that I was particularly observing, and apt to retain what came under my observation" (Bibb, 1849, p. 15).

Exceptional memory skills were also used to acquire communication skills. "To those who are ignorant of letters, their memory is their book" (Raboteau, 2004). In one case, Williams uncovered the following example. A slave master and his wife began

spelling out information to each other because they were afraid their slaves were eavesdropping on their conversations. The enslaved child assigned to dinner memorized the letters then repeated them to a literate uncle who decoded them into words. Through this process, the child eventually learned the English alphabet (Williams, 2005). Some African children, required to accompany their enslaver's children to school or to sit in on private tutoring, used their memory skills to not only learn to read, write and cipher but to play musical instruments as well. Thomas "Blind Tom" Wiggins Bethune provides an example of this occurrence. Bethune as a child was sold as part of a package deal with his parents, who were auctioned off in 1850. The enslavers recognized Thomas' exceptional retentive skills. His musical aptitude was discovered when he at age 3 was discovered playing the piano lessons the Bethune daughters were studying. From that time, his musical aptitude was encouraged. Unfortunately, the gifts he developed as a performer and composer led to his being enslaved for his entire life. "Blind Tom" provided families of his original enslaver hundreds of thousands of dollars from his compositions, arrangements, and performances. This human capital is cataloged briefly later in the chapter under the heading of "performers and composers" (Schmidt, 2014; Southall, 1979a, 2016).

Austin (1997) and Diouf (1998) provide documentation of the literacy skills of enslaved Muslims in the United States. Muslim literacy skills included reading and writing in Arabic and the ability to translate their native languages using the phonetic Arabic alphabet. Many Muslim Africans were trained in the pre-Colonial universities that populated the more than 10,000 states and kingdoms. Omar ibn Said (1770? -1864?), for

example, received 25 years of schooling in the Futo Toro region of the Islamic state of Takrur. Takrur, presently known as Senegal and Gambia. Said was enslaved at the age of 37 and sold in South Carolina. He escaped but was caught and imprisoned in Fayetteville, North Carolina. Said's autobiography was one of 14 manuscripts and was originally written in Arabic, then later translated into English (Said, 1851, 1925).

There existed a clear distinction between biblical literacy and the communication literacy of reading and writing. Africans acquired Biblical literacy, taught by the church, missionary groups, and slave owners. Bible verses were taught in some cases to instill morality. For Abolitionists, free and enslaved African were taught to read the Bible to support their position slaves were teachable human beings with souls. In other cases, biblical literacy was used to subdue slaves, teaching them slavery was God's will, and to be a saved, one needed to be a good slave (Cornelius, 1983).

Knowledge of reading and writing in English enabled free and enslaved Africans to communicate. This knowledge was acquired through a variety of sources, for different end purposes. Communication literacy in the form of reading and writing was taught as an act of civil disobedience. White Americans taught Africans to read and write in protest of anti-literacy laws. The ability to write enabled Africans to escape slavery using handwritten passes. The ability to read local newspapers kept enslaved Africans informed about the movement of Union soldiers (Hardesty, 2016).

The ability to read and write benefitted Solomon Northup (1808-1863), born a free man in Minerva, New York. Northup, baited by the promise of high wages was lured into performing with a traveling music show. The show owners drugged him and sold

into slavery. Northrup composed multiple letters that were sent north to his family and friends. His family used these letters to mount a search and with the help of New York Governor Washington Hunt (1811 – 1867), secured Northup's freedom. Northrup's story is documented in his memoir *Narrative of Solomon Northup, a Citizen of New-York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and Rescued in 1853* (Northrup, 1853).

Teaching free and enslaved Africans to read and write became illegal only after literacy was determined a threat to the slave system. The first laws criminalizing these skills and this type of education appeared in the 1740s. In 1819, Virginia coded schools that taught reading and writing to Africans whether free or enslaved as instances of unlawful assemblies. Even though laws proliferated throughout the country outlawing literacy among free and enslaved African, and forbidding teaching slaves to read and write, these laws were unevenly enforced. Slave narratives uncover stories of masters teaching their slaves to read and write because it was financially beneficial to them to do so.

Teachers, Performers, and Composers.

Prior to 1865, human capital in the form of musical abilities were captured in runaway slave ads. A study of runaway slave advertisements recorded in colonial and revolutionary newspapers from New York and New Jersey found musical skills accounted for 42 % of skills identified in runaway slave advertisements. Similar advertisements were found in the *Virginia Gazette* (1746-1772), *South Carolina Gazette* (1770-1772), *Poughkeepsie Journal* (1791), *Maryland Gazette* (1745), and in the *New York Packet and American Advertiser* (1779). In this way, slave catchers used the human

capital runaway slaves produced as musicians, instrument-makers, and music teachers as marks of identification (Hodges, 1994; LeHuray, 2016; Southern, 1997). Access to education that benefited slave masters and mainstream White society provided the United States with a highly skilled workforce of Black artisans following Emancipation. Dantas (2008) notes the post-Emancipation labor force of African Americans included blacksmiths, typesetters, machinists, bookkeepers, architects, musicians, and music teachers.

In the years prior to the Civil War, Black musicians and music teachers were trained in schools organized by free Africans, legal entities, churches, missionary groups, and social movements. Following the Civil War, Black music educators traveled throughout the North to the South organizing and teaching in Freedman schools. Reports by regional and state supervisors of Freedman schools documented the musical talents of Black students. White teachers reported Black students exhibited an aptitude for musical training despite their negative opinions regarding the musical quality of the voices. These reports led the general superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau schools, Reverend John Watson Alvord (1807-1880) to request additional funds from the United States government to hire music teachers to teach vocal music in the Freedmen schools (Alvord, 1866).

Historically, a symbiotic relationship existed between teaching, composer, performing, and ministry. Music teachers supplemented their incomes as teachers performing and composing. Similarly, composers were also performers, and performers expanded their careers to include composition. Those called and informally trained or

formally trained in ministry used multiple skills. In addition to his work as a minister, the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. Richard Allen (1760-1831) composed, edited and published the first hymnal for an African American congregation in 1821i (Costen, 2004; Southern, 1997). Additional examples of this symbiotic relationship include Newport Gardner, Charlotte Forten, Elizabeth Taylor-Greenfield, and Nathaniel Clark Smith.

African singer, composer Newport Gardner né Occramer Marycoo (1746-1826?) directed a successful singing school in Newport, Rhode Island. Gardner's owner funded private lessons for Newport with traveling music teacher, composer, and preacher, Andrew Law (1749–1821). Gardner, while enslaved, became a founding member of the African Union Society (1780). After winning a portion of a \$2,000 lottery ticket payout, Newport rented space for a singing school in 1791 in which his mistress enrolled as a student. Theologian and Abolitionist Samuel Hopkins (1721 – 1803) notes Gardner's school was "very numerously attended" ("Newport Gardner (1746-1826)," 1976, p. 205). With Hopkins' help, Gardner established the Union Congregational Church (1833). The first building of the congregation still stands at 49 Division Street in Rhode Island. Gardner also served as the head teacher for the African Free School established by the free blacks of Newport in 1808 for the education of recently freed Africans. This school reported 32 students on March 23, 1809 (Arthur Flagg, 1809). In addition to these institutions, Gardner helped to organize and maintain examples of human capital. He published the first musical compositions by an African American, *Crooked Shanks* (1803) and the *Promise Anthem* (1826).

Charlotte Forten-Grimké (1838-1914) was a notable African American instructor in the Freedmen's schools who also contributed to the field of music. She developed human capital as a teacher, pianist/vocalist, teacher, scholar, activist, and informal ethnomusicologist. Forten-Grimké left Philadelphia to work with former slaves in Helena Island in South Carolina. An accomplished musician herself; she engaged in music education activities while there. Her scholarly work is available today in the form of published diaries, journals, and articles for the *Atlantic Monthly*. Her ethnomusicological skills provided ample information about traditional Gullah music and performance practices. Other contributions included notated songs from the Georgia Sea Islands published in *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867) (Lockwood, 1969; Southern, 1997; K. A. Taylor, 2005).

Wealthy White benefactors financially supported the development of human capital by free and enslaved Africans who exhibited musical aptitude. Africans in urban areas were provided music lessons through Singing Schools organized by free Africans and churches, as a part of church Sabbath programming, and through private lessons provided by free, enslaved Africans and White teachers. In rural areas, slave owners provided private music lessons and purchased musical instruments for their slaves. Musically trained African slaves were rented out to perform for events, parties, and as teachers, providing additional income for their enslavers (Costen, 2004; Sensbach, 1998; Southern, 1997; Wright, 2008; Johnson, 2000; Malone, 1996).

Elizabeth Taylor-Greenfield (1824-1876) was born to parents owned by Elizabeth Holiday Greenfield, a wealthy landowner with properties in Mississippi, Louisiana, and

Pennsylvania. Shortly after the baby, named Elizabeth was born, her mistress left Mississippi, joining the Society of Friends in Philadelphia. Elizabeth Holiday Greenfield freed Taylor-Greenfield's parents and gave them enough money to establish a new home in Liberia. The child stayed in the United States as a servant. A trust was set up for the child, Taylor-Greenfield, providing her with an annual disbursement of \$100. This endowment gave Taylor-Greenfield financial freedom and provided a way for her to focus on music. Though she became proficient on the piano and the guitar, she is most known for her work as a vocalist. Managed by Colonel J. H. Wood of Cincinnati, Taylor-Greenfield toured extensively throughout the United States and studied voice in England, becoming one of the first African concert artists of the United States. Using her knowledge of the voice and skills as a professional performer, Taylor-Greenfield opened a private voice studio in Philadelphia in 1850 (Southern, 1997; Story, 2000).

The talent, pianistic, compositional, and performance skills of Thomas Greene Bethune Wiggins (1849-1908) also known as "Blind Tom" were highly praised. The Fayetteville Observer (May 19, 1862) reported, "This blind boy is cursed with little of human nature; he seems to be an unconscious agent acting as he is acted on, and his mind a vacant receptacle where Nature's stores her jewels to recall them at her pleasure" (123). Mark Twain commented, "Some archangel, cast out of upper Heaven like another Satan inhabits this coarse casket; and he comforts himself and makes his prison beautiful with thoughts and dreams and memories of another time... It is not Blind Tom that does these wonderful things and plays this wonderful music—it is the other party" ("Letter from Mark Twain," 1869). Twain, though fascinated with Tom described him as a half-idiot

Negro pianist effectively denigrating his talent (Schmidt, 2014; Southall, 1979a).

Nathaniel Clark Smith (1877-1935) was a writer, composer, community organizer, publisher, and music educator. He established a music publishing company with J. Berni Barbour in Chicago in 1903. Founder of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama, Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) hired Smith as Commandant of the Cadets with the rank of Captain (1906). The relationship between Smith and Washington was tumultuous, prompting Smith to request a three-month sabbatical in 1915. When he returned to Tuskegee for the 1914-15 academic year, Booker T. Washington promoted him to the rank of Major. Washington died in November of 1915 and Smith left Tuskegee to pursue other work. In Kansas, he worked a variety of jobs, which included developing a band, orchestra, chorus, and smaller ensembles for the Pullman Company, and as a band director at Sumner and Lincoln high schools. A review from Sumner High School includes the following comments reprinted in Buckner's essay, "Rediscovering Major N. Clark Smith" (1985).

Quality of Instruction: Excellent

1. Quality of Instruction: Excellent. Major Smith is one of the outstanding colored music teachers that we have in the country. His strongest and greatest talent lies in the instrumental field, as well as in the composition field. He has high ideals as far as character and culture are concerned, both materially and spiritually.
2. Knowledge of Subject: Excellent. I do not think that there is any phase of the public school work that Major Smith is not familiar with.

3. Musicianship: Excellent.... [He] is able to impart his knowledge to the people that he is instructing.
4. Concentration of Interest on Assigned School Duties: Good
5. Professional Interest and Zeal: Excellent
6. Personal Qualifications: Excellent. Major Smith possesses a pleasant personality, but before the students in his classroom and band work, he has a domineering, energetic, positive manner. He loses his temper often and has to be spoken to as far as self control (sic) is concerned. On the other hand, he is so anxious to help in the improvement of conditions and work that he has loaned to the band all of the odd and expensive instruments which he personally owns. He is highly respected by those who know him, both as a teacher and as a citizen. I believe that we have a very unusual type of high school musician and teacher in Major Smith (Reginald T. Buckner, 1985, p. 39).

In the 20th century, Black human capital was developed in music education as part of the Music Supervisors National Conference (MSNC). From 1934-1998, this organization became known as the Music Educators National Conference (MENC), and 2011 the organization was known as NafME: The National Association for Music Education. Black women instrumentalists, performers, and conductors were able to infiltrate the field of music supervisors, whose membership was historically dominated by White males (Howe, 2013; McGinty, 1997).

Revella Hughes (1895-1987) was the music supervisor of Black schools in Huntington, West Virginia and taught at both the elementary and high school for 11

years. Though parents were initially unsupportive of her as a teacher, by the time she left her position in Huntington, to re-enter the music business, she had won over the parents of her students.

“When I was read to leave, the parents begged me not to return to that old big city and to stay with them. What would the children do without me? Isn’t life funny? When I left, I left them with a band of 124 pieces. There was \$900.00 in the bank; they had uniforms and good instruments, including sousaphones, and you know how much they cost. When I began we had had to borrow instruments from stores and organizations for our parades” (Doris Evans McGinty & Hughes, 1988, p. 100).

Black public school music supervisors in Washington, D. C. included Alice Strange-Davis (1921-1955), Harriet Gibbs Marshall (1868-1941) and Josephine E. Wormley (1878-1955). Alice Strange-Davis was appointed director of music of Black schools in Washington, D.C. from 1896 to 1900. In her role, she conducted in-service session for classroom teachers in her home and advocated what was then the revolutionary idea of resident music specialists in each school building (Elward, 1981). Harriet Gibbs Marshall served from 1900-1905 as the Assistant Director in Charge of Special Work in the public schools. Frustrated with her position, that in effect was in name only and offered her no power to effect change, Gibbs, recruited a group of music teachers who were graduates of recognized universities and conservatories to discuss the plight of Black music students in Washington, D.C. By 1903, a board was established and the Washington Conservatory of Music was opened (Doris E McGinty, 1979). Josephine

E. Wormley was hired as the Assistant Director of Music of the Colored Schools in 1916 and served until 1925. This first position included only Elementary schools, but in 1923, Wormley's responsibilities were expanded to include junior high schools. Concerned about the lack of musical programs for students at the Shaw facility, she advocated for the hiring of a music teacher and finances to establish music programs (Elward, 1984).

Black women also distinguished themselves as having developed curricula for Black youth. Mary L. Europe (M Street, later Dunbar High School) and Estelle Pinckney Webster (Armstrong Technical High School) are two examples. Europe and Webster raised the caliber of both schools making their music students highly sought after as musicians and teachers. Both schools achieved reputations for their college preparatory programs in music. Through their curricula, Black music students were introduced to Black concert performers and composers (Doris E. McGinty, 2016).

Scholars.

Ramsey (1996) dates Black music historiography as having begun in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The number of publications increased simultaneously with the progress of African Americans toward self-determination. The five periods of African American historiography by Meier and Rudwick, reprinted in Ramsey include: (a) 1915-1930 (b) 1930-40, (c) 1950-60, (d) 1961-1966, (e) 1967-80. Meier and Rudwick were primarily interested in scholarship that first emanated from the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH). Because of this focus, earlier history of scholarship in music history is absent. Dissertations and books by Black and White scholars on Black music and Black musicians are included in Meier's and Rudwick's

third-period. This dissertation re-categorizes Black music historicism organizing scholarship into five distinctive periods that captures that earlier work. The new periods include: (a) late 1800s-1900, (b) 1900-30s, (c) 1940s-50s, (d) 1960-70s, (e) beyond the 70s. Offered as representative of Black music historicism is the work of 7 music scholars, James Trotter, Amelia Tilghman, Maude Cuney Hare, Langston Hughes, Eileen Southern, Portia Maultsby, and Melonee V. Burnim. They are chosen as representatives of 5 distinctive eras in music scholarship. The scholars will be organized in this way.

- First period: James Trotter and Amelia Tilghman
- Second period: Maude Cuney Hare
- Third period: Langston Hughes
- Fourth period: Eileen Southern
- Fifth period: Portia Maultsby with Melonee V. Burnim

First Period.

Former slave James M. Trotter published the first major book documenting the human capital of African American musicians in the form of compositions, and performances. His publication *Music and Some Highly Musical People* (1878) represents the first attempt to organize, represent, and analyze nineteenth-century black musical activity in the United States. The book's value to scholarship was recognized by Black physician, author and Civil Rights leader Monroe A. Majors (1864-1960) in his book, *Noted Negro women: Their Triumphs and Activities* (1893). It was also cited by pianist, musicologist, activist, and writer Maude Cuney Hare (1874-1936) in her work *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (1936). Prior to Frederick Ritter's *Music in America* (1883)

Trotter's book, existed as the only survey of African American music (DeLapp, 2016).

"For more than a century, *Music and Some Highly Musical People* has endured as the authoritative source for nineteenth-century black musical activity" (DeLapp, 1995, p. 110).

Trotter's *Music and Some Highly Musical People* (1878) was written as corrective to "erroneous and unfavorable estimates of the art-capabilities of the colored race" (Trotter, 1881, p. 7). Presented are biographies of over 30 individual musicians and briefer mentions of the work of performance groups. Identified in a section exploring geographical areas are more than 100 performers, teachers, and composers. The book ends with an addendum offering 13 original compositions and arrangements. While Trotter's aspirations were to counter negative estimates of black participation in art music, the African American music forms found in music of the Minstrel show and spirituals were briefly included (DeLapp, 2016).

Amelia L. Tilghman (1856-1931 composer, vocalist and author, taught music in Alabama during the mid-1880s. She studied music at the Normal department at Howard University and at the Boston Conservatory of Music. She taught music in the Washington D. C. public school system for 14 years. In 1866, she began publishing *The Musical Messenger*, the first African American musical magazine (J. C. Smith & Phelps, 1992 Walker-Hill, 2007). Two surviving copies of the magazine show the magazine included poetry, articles on music, and social commentary. Also included were the names of prominent composers of African descent, repertoire lists, and publication information for compositions by African Americans. Her commentaries provided new ideas and theories

regarding the performance of music and of music education. Tilghman and her magazine were praised in *Afro-American Press and its Editors*, published by in 1891 by African American author, I. Garland Penn (1867-1930). A review of the musical journal by the *Philadelphia Tribune* reprinted in Scruggs (1893) states, “We are in receipt of the Musical Messenger, a monthly published in Washington, D. C. by Miss A. L. Tilghman, and devoted to ‘the highest moral, social and intellectual interest of the people’” (p. 215). Schenbeck (2012) reprints, Garland’s review of the musical journal. “Her knowledge of music and musical people enables her to treat in an intellectual way all subject pertaining to the musician’s welfare” (Schenbeck, 2012, p. 404).

Second Period.

Maude Cuney-Hare (1874-1936), a concert pianist, musicologist and author, studied at the New England Conservatory. She established the Musical Arts Studio in Boston and served as musical editor for the *Crisis*, the primary publication organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Her text, *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (1936) begins the musical history of African Americans with music found on the continent of Africa. Cuney-Hare also speculated on the influence of African music to African American musical forms. Her scholarship, informed by her academic background and steeped in the “ideals of the New Negro rhetoric: racial equality, black cultural nationalism” was representative of African American musicologists and historians of the period (Ramsey Jr., 1996, p. 26).

Third Period.

The First Book of Jazz (1955) by author, poet, Langston Hughes (1902-1967) was the first children's book to examine Jazz. Illustrated by Black cartoonist, Cliff Roberts (1929-1999), the book includes musical selections by Swing bandleader David Martin (1907-1975). The book includes music history, musicology, and brief biographies. The text begins with Jazz precursors such as work songs, jubilees, the blues, boogie-woogie, and ragtime. An appendix includes suggested recordings. African American performers presented in the text outnumber White musicians seven to three (Winter, 2010). The same year, Hughes published a book for adult readers, *Famous Negro Music Makers: Illustrated with Photographs*. This text presents short biographies of musicians from Jazz, Gospel, and popular music.

Fourth Period.

Termed a “quiet revolutionary” by music scholar Samuel A. Floyd Jr., Eileen Southern (1920-2002) authored *The Music of Black Americans: A History* in 1971 that has had three reprints, the last in 1997. Southern's book differs from Trotter's work in scope and method. The work “broke new ground helping to establish Black music as a scholarly specialty” (Ramsey, 1996 p. 11). Southern's methods included ethnography, oral history, music criticism, and historicism. Her text begins with musical practices in West Africa and ends with the 1960s. Oliver (1985) identifies as weaknesses of the 1984 reprint, the author's seeming unfamiliarity or lack of comfortability with popular music forms like jazz, blues, rhythm and blues, soul, and rock. Despite this shortcoming, Southern's research is the most often quoted text in the research of Black music and

musicians. Additional scholarly work by Southern includes: *Buxheim Organ Book* (1963), *Readings in Black American Music* (1972) *Composers of Classical Music* (1975), *Hymnals of the Black Church* (1989), and the *Biographical Dictionary of Afro-American and African Musicians* (1982).

Fifth Period.

Portia K. Maultsby is the Laura Boulton Professor Emerita of Ethnomusicology and Professor Emerita of Folklore and Ethnomusicology at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana. With Mellonee Burnim, also of Indiana University, Maultsby has edited two contemporary texts in music education, *Issues in African American Music: Power, Gender, Race, Representation* (2016) and *African American Music: An Introduction* (2006, 2015). Maultsby's personal research is centered in popular music forms and genres. These publications include *Ethnicity and African American Popular Music* (1994), *Soul Music: Its Sociological and Political Significance in American Popular Culture* (1983), and *The Impact of Gospel Music on the Secular Music Industry* (1992).

African American Music: An Introduction (2014), edited by Maultsby and Burnim represents a continuation of the writing style experienced in Southern. Articles of 13 authors represent research. Much like the 1971 text by Southern, the text is organized in chronological form. It covers music from West African, secular and sacred folk music, musical theater, Art Music, and popular music forms from blues through hip hop. While Southern (1997) focused heavily on Art music, Maultsby and Burnim focus primarily on popular music. Discussions of military music, music education, and professional music

groups are missing from Maultsby and Burnim, whereas they were included in Southern. Centered in musicological and ethnomusicological method, the text presumes some formal musical knowledge, making it difficult for non-music majors. Burnim provides an audio compact disc, something that is missing from all previous discussed texts.

Pedagogists.

African Americans developed music pedagogies including African American vernacular music and dance; as well as techniques common to Western Art Music. Published pedagogical works are discussed in this section. Works by the Tio family, Justin Miner Holland, and Emma Azalia Hackley are presented as examples.

Justin Miner Holland (1819-87), a freeborn African, studied music, theory, flute, and guitar at Oberlin Collegiate Institute in Ohio. Holland studied Spanish in Mexico to better translate Spanish guitar pedagogy. He opened a private music studio in Cleveland, Ohio in 1845 where he taught classical guitar and developed a reputation as an apt performer and composer. His first compositions were teaching etudes and guitar pieces used as repertoire for his students. Holland published two instructional method books for guitar, *Comprehensive Method for the Guitar* (1874) and *Modern Method for Guitar* (1876).

To prepare for the editing, compilation, and writing of the texts, Holland learned Italian, French, German, and Spanish so that he could read other guitar method texts in their original languages. His techniques for holding the guitar and the position of right and left hands while in agreement with some Italianate techniques offered corrections to those techniques that he deemed imprecise and limiting. Subsequent chapters focus on

tuning, fingering, strumming, and plucking. The method books close with his original musical examples offered as etudes (Moore, 2009).

When refused service from a local music store because of his color, Holland became active in local, state and nation conventions of organizations devoted to the advancement of racial quality. Holland kept his activism separate from his teaching studio.

I adopted a rule of guidance for myself, that I would do full justice to the learner in my efforts to impart to him a good knowledge of the elementary principles of music, and a correct system of fingering (on the guitar, as practiced by, and taught in the works of, the finest masters in Europe. I also decided that in my intercourse as a teacher I would preserve the most cautious and circumspect demeanor, considering the relationship a mere business transaction that gave me no claims on my pupils' attention or hospitality beyond what any ordinary business matter would give (Clemenson, 2006, p. 5).

Behaving in this way, Holland was able to achieve a level of success as a teacher. It perhaps also preventing him from developing relationships with his students that would have later provided evidence of his influence on the lives of famed guitarists of the day. This is not the case with the Tio family of New Orleans.

Antoine Louis "Papa" Tio (1862-1922), Lorenzo Tio, Sr. (1867-1908), and Lorenzo Tio, Jr. (1893-1933) played and taught clarinet during the formative years of jazz's development in New Orleans. Brothers Louis and Lorenzo, and Lorenzo's son Lorenzo, Jr. maintained long associations with brass and dance bands and theater

orchestras. While all three Tios performed primarily on the clarinet, they also taught saxophone, bassoon, oboe, cornet, and soprano saxophone. All three were known for their teaching studios. Their pedagogies based on Western Music, emphasized ear-training, intonation, singing using solfeggio, tonal harmony and conducting. Unique to the Tio studio, pedagogies developed fluid digital techniques and robust timbres. Students attended lessons usually once or twice per week.

The techniques used by the Tios were described in interviews conducted with former students and reprinted as part of research completed by Charles Kinzer (1996). Student interviews uncovered unique techniques that included having students verbally recount the mistakes they made and why they occurred. “Papa” Tio’s pedagogy included “casting one’s eyes ahead, as much as eight measures in advance of the time” and to think two-four in common time to achieve the “feel” necessary to Jazz. This technique was termed, “split time” (p. 293). Tio Jr. developed a single-lip embouchure with minimum pressure from the lower jaw (p. 292). The techniques taught by Tio, Jr. produced the clear tone that characterized the performance techniques of his students. Tio Jr.’s advanced students were also taught to maintain their instruments by making their own reeds and pads. The legacy of the Tio pedagogies was exemplified in the careers of Jazz greats, Barney Bigard (1906-1980) and Jimmy Noone (1895-1944) whose careers span the New Orleans and Swing Eras of Jazz.

When Emma Azalia Hackley (1867-1922) died, an obituary in the *New York Age* referred to her as “Our National Teacher.” (p. 33). Hackley was an academically trained pianist, vocalist, and choral director. Her passion to “produce cultured voices in the black

community” (p. 26) led her to extensively tour the United States presenting singing classes for students at all levels of ability and education. She was noted to have taught a minimum of 64,000 students in her method that she termed, “voice culture.” This voice culture method included studies in music appreciation, note reading, and vocal technique. Further, Hackley’s method offered racial uplift, using African American music as a “countermeasure to the effects of racism” (Karpf, 1999, p. 326). Carl Rossini Diton (1886-1962), pianist, composer and co-founder of the National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM) honored Hackley’s contributions in this way.

I think Madame Hackley was one of the greatest social workers from a music standpoint that the Colored population as ever known. She, more than anyone else, is responsible for the trend toward the cultivation of the Negro’s natural voice and higher musical training (Karpf, 1999, p. 327).

Structural Capital

Structural capital categorizes those structural elements that make the production of human capital possible. Annie Brooking (1998) described structural capital as the “skeleton and the adhesives of the organization, which strengthens the company and creates a strong and consistent relationship between individuals and their processes” (p. 62). The supportive infrastructures and processes of All-Black organizations will be discussed in this section.

Historically, All-Black volunteer organizations created support systems and institutions. These groups, first organized in the 1780s, were founded by Free and enslaved Africans to provide support to enslaved, recently manumitted, and runaway

Africans. Structural capital was produced both individually and corporately. In some cases, structural capital produced by Black organizations mirrored those created by European Americans, in other cases, they differed, exhibiting unique cultural practices (Southern, 1997; Williams, 2005). This section of the dissertation will identify structural capital produced by the Free African Union Society (FAUS), the Florida Association of Band Directors (FABD), the National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM), and the National Black Music Caucus of MENC (BMC). These organizations provide the historical continuum Black structural capital upon which the BMETC was founded.

The Free African Union Society and the African Benevolent Society.

The Free African Union Society (FAUS) was established in Newport, Rhode, Island (1780). Organizational proceedings, correspondence and proclamations provide evidence of structural capital. Two ledgers contain the manuscripts used for this discussion dated 1790 to 1824 (Robinson, 1976). The FAUS was an all-male organization. The African Benevolent Society (1808) was open to men and women. One of the prominent founders of both organizations was Newport Gardner.

The elected offices of the organization included president, vice president, judge, secretary, treasurer, and 12 committee members. The 12-man committee was responsible for facilitating matters and conducting business on behalf of the entire membership. Over the years as membership dwindled, the twelve-man committee became a six-man committee. Others were listed as members. At one point in the organization's history, seventy men were counted as members. The FAUS began meeting monthly on the second Thursday evening of the month.

The membership process was lengthy. Members applied for admission, paid their dues of 18 shillings and awaited acceptance. A 12-man committee examined the application and admission was granted by 2/3 vote. Financial problems were frequently discussed in meeting minutes and organizational correspondence because of the hardships experienced by members trying to keep their dues current (Robinson, 1976).

Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools (FABD).

The FABD existed from 1941-1966. It was one of the first Black organization focused on preparing high school band students for entry into college and university music programs. The structural capital of FABD was found in research completed by W. L. Richardson in 1999. Richardson provided copies of the organization's by-laws and constitution, which indicated annual meetings held in the fall included the election of officers. Membership categories included, active, associate, and honorary. Active members included teachers currently teaching in public elementary or secondary school bands in Florida. Active members had to teach in public schools fully accredited by Florida's State of Board of Education Teachers and had to also hold teaching certificates in music. Associate members, did not need to be teachers, but typically were musicians. Associate members could not be elected to office, but had voting rights. Honorary membership, elected by a majority vote, was extended to persons interested in school bands. Membership dues were set at \$5.00. A quorum was established to be 25 % of active members in good standing (Richardson, 1999).

Elected officers included president, first vice president, second vice president, treasurer, and secretary. The offices were held for one year with options for re-election.

While standard responsibilities were documented for president, first vice president, secretary, and treasurer, no responsibilities were found in the documents for the second vice president. Roberts Rules of Order governed meetings. Article II of the Constitution indicated meetings followed this order.

- Roll call of members
- Reading of meeting minutes
- Reports or messages from the President
- Treasurer's report
- Standing committees' reports
- Special committees' reports
- Unfinished business
- New business
- Installation of Officers (in the fall)

The organization developed a handbook that provided procedures and issues of conduct with regard to the annual clinic and festivals. The handbook classified bands by experience, technique, and academic level. FABD divided the state into five districts, each having a chairman and secretary/treasurer.

Over the organization's twenty-five-year history, there were only three presidents, all men. There were only two names found in the membership list (1941-1966) that could easily be identified as female. The membership list did not specify if both female members were teachers, but it is clear they began as students in the programs sponsored by FABD. The first female member of the Florida A&M University Marching Band

Norma White, graduated in 1955. FABD eventually organized student components whose members represented more than 70 schools.

National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM) 1919 to Present.

Chicagoan Nora Holt (1885-1974) was a musician, composer and columnist for the *Chicago Defender*. Born, Lena Douglas, Holt studied musicology, music composition and music criticism at Western University in Kansas, graduating class valedictorian in 1917. When she graduated from the Chicago Musical College (Illinois) in 1918, Holt became the first African American in the United States to receive a Master's Degree in Composition. She organized the Chicago Music Association in 1919 to unify local Black classical musicians. Her interest in providing a group to support Black musicians and composers of art music went beyond her Chicago group. Discussions with violinist Clarence Cameron White (1880-1960) led to a joint meeting of the Chicago and Washington, D. C. groups in 1919. During the first session of the joint conference (July 29, 1919), the Washington group called the *Temporary Organization of Negro Musicians and Artists* and the *Chicago Music Society* set some goals. It was agreed that the purpose of a joint group would be to "promote fellowship, economic, and educational betterment, to foster Negro talent, and to stimulate racial expression" (Patterson & Simpkins, 1993, p. 23).

The second day of the convention opened with song and prayer. A slate of officers was proposed, nominated and elected. The first officers of the new organization included Henry Lee Grant (president), Nora Holt (vice president), Alice Carter Simmons (secretary), and Fred Johnson (treasurer). With this slate of officers, the new

organization, named National Association of Negro Musicians was born. The organization began by offering memberships to individuals.

Membership included teachers from public schools, higher education, and private studios, as well as, performers, and composers. Membership dues were set at \$5.00. Fees were raised throughout the years to the current fee of \$15.00.

There are seven categories of members listed in the Constitution:

- Musicians (accredited members of NANM branches who are vocational or avocational musicians and are committed to the aims and purposes of the organization)
- Patrons of the Arts (members of accredited NANM branches who are not musicians but are committed to the aims and purposes of the organization.
- Life Members (members who upon paying a special fee, determined by the NANM Board of Director and upon acceptance by Assembly vote)
- Members-at-large (members who live in a city with an existing branch of NANM or for valid reasons are not members of an existing branch NANM. An application must be made to the national board of directors through the regional chair and make payment of the annual fee)
- Youth (ages 14-17, active members within branch level youth divisions)
- Junior (ages 6-13, active members within branch level junior divisions)
- Young Adult (aged 18 and above can participate after application to the Director of Youth Division, and after having sent their membership fee of the Executive Secretary; non-voting member)

- Campus (college and university students who are members of campus divisions organized at the branch level. The campus branch must be under the supervision of a faculty member who is a bona fide member of NANM, Inc. or a designee assigned by the regional director; non-voting member)

NANM divides its funds into six categories: general expense, sinking fund (emergencies and investments), scholarship and contest awards, Julia Walden Valentine Loan Fund, Life Members Guild Trust Fund, and an open category for future special funds. The constitution provides for putting 10 % of monies received in the general expense fund into the sinking funds, and of dispersing only 75 % of the scholarship and award fund. The remaining 25 % was kept as a nucleus for the fund. July 1st to June 30 represented the fiscal year. The end of the fiscal year coincides with the last day of the annual convention in August and the second to last day of the annual convention in the following year.

The order of meetings is as follows.

- a) Call to Order
- b) Official Roll Call
- c) Reading of the Minutes
- d) Communications (reports)
- e) Finance report
- f) Committee Reports
- g) Unfinished Business
- h) Admission of new branches and recognition of new members

- i) New Business
- j) Adjournment

The Black Music Caucus (BMC) 1972- Present.

The Black Music Caucus was organized in 1972 to “reverse the dearth of Black participation in Music Educators National Conference” (Taylor, 1984, p. 1). Taylor’s 1984 dissertation focused on the first decade of the organization’s existence, and provided the documentation necessary to identify its structural and customer capital. The 1972 draft constitution included in the dissertation showed membership was organized into two groups. Active membership was open to Black musicians interested in the goals of the Black Music Caucus. Associate membership was open to those who supported the concept of self-determination. Music students were also invited to join. Interested parties submitted applications for membership. The steering committee was given the power to suspend or expel any members whose activities were not in the interest of BMC. Resignations were required to be in writing.

Membership meetings were held concurrently with meetings of the Music Educators National Conference (MENC). One-third active membership constituted a quorum. Membership dues, whether adult or student were \$10.00. Elected officers included chair, secretary, and treasurer. The full membership met every two years during MENC conventions. The first officers elected during the 1972 meeting in Georgia included composer, educator T. J. Anderson (b. 1926) elected to the post of National Chairman/Treasurer and composer, organist, jazz musician, and choral conductor, John Andrew Ross (1940-2006) elected to the post of National Secretary.

BMC divided the country into five geographic divisions: eastern, north central, southern, southwestern, and western. Each division had two or more representatives to the national steering committee. Of the 19 original members, six were women. The organizational structure changed in 1977 to address problems with the day to day operations of the organization exacerbated by the lack of meetings (every two years) and the geographic distance between regions. The structure expanded to include an executive director, treasurer, secretary, newsletter editor, and regional coordinator. The steering committee approved membership and expelled members whose activities were not in accordance with BMC goals. The committee set dues. Upon request, the committee could call special meetings. A membership quorum was represented by one-third of the total membership. The steering committee approved membership and expelled members whose activities were not in accordance with BMC goals.

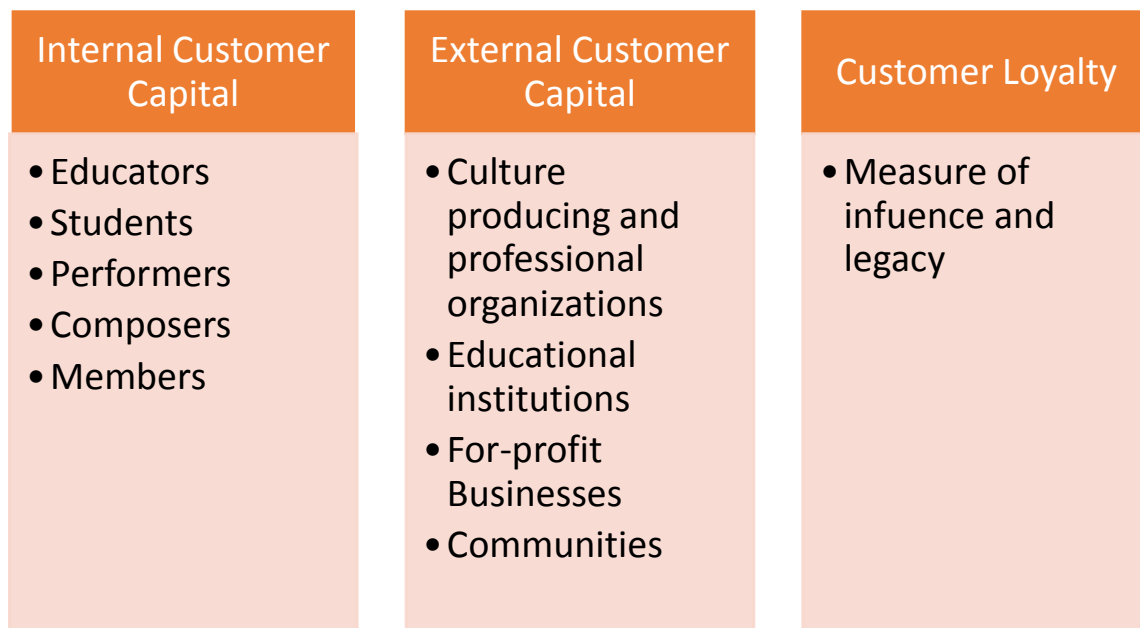


Figure 2. Forms of Customer Capital

Customer Capital.

Figure 2 provides a visual of the ways customer capital can be organized. Customer capital is evident in internal and external relationships. Internal capital is categorized by relationships within the organization and the ways the organizations serves its members. External customer capital is used to categorize relationships developed and maintained outside of the organization. Customer loyalty and legacy provides one way to measure customer capital.

Organizational members will be discussed as internal customers. For the music organizations used in this section as examples, membership included musicians, teachers, students, composers, arrangers, and interested parties. External customers will be identified as culture-producing and professional organizations; educational, for-profit

businesses, and ethnic communities. Customer loyalty will be represented as influence and legacy. The customer capital of FABD, NANM, and BMC will be presented as historical evidence and lineage of customer capital continued by BMETC.

Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools (1941-1966).

The research of William L. Richardson (1999) in the form of a Master's dissertation is the primary source for the identification of internal and external customer capital. The mission of FABD included bringing "appreciation for better music in pupils and parents" (p. 47). This mission was accomplished by the organization of a state high school band clinic and an organization of band directors.

As Assistant Band Director at Florida Agriculture and Mechanical College (Florida A&M), Kirksey maintained a close relationship between students in the high schools represented by FABD members and Florida A&M. Through FABD a direct pathway from high school to Black colleges assisted Black students with achieving their goals for higher education. It also was pivotal in the establishment of a full-fledged undergraduate music program at Florida A&M.

Five high school bands participated in the first clinic in 1941. Elected officers of FABD (Leander Kirksey, Alvin J. Downing, George H. Hill, Edward D. Hill, and Raymond Sheppard) directed these high school bands. The clinic included rehearsal technique workshops, brass and woodwind techniques, and massed band rehearsals. Students attended lectures on the relationship of music courses to allied subjects. Students were also provided a platform from which to form supportive relationships with band students from the different schools. FABD's activities also impacted students at the

college and university level providing future leadership for FABD, and for high school, college, and university band programs. Teachers, as members of FABD, were provided opportunities to develop relationships with other bandleaders and teachers through director's meetings. These meetings were forums in which clinics were evaluated and planning for the next year was accomplished. Due to the practice of moving conventions throughout the state, teachers and students had opportunities to travel and to experience different parts of the state.

The legacy of FABD is exhibited in the careers of noted educators William P. Foster and Kerna D. McFarlin, the Florida A&M music programs, and noted jazz performers Julian and Nathaniel Adderley, and David Francis. FABD's customer satisfaction evidenced of its influence and legacy can also be discovered through an examination of the FABD's relationship with the Black community. The relationship maintained with professional culture-producing organizations and public schools presents an example of external customer capital. Relationships with for-profit businesses represent final examples of external customer capital.

Richardson identifies Dr. William P. Foster (1919-2010), as being one of many educators who benefitted professionally from their membership in FABD. Foster became Kirksey's replacement at Florida A&M. This position represented to Foster the beginning of a five-year rise to prominence in music education history. Nicknamed "The Law and the Maestro" Foster directed the nationally acclaimed Florida A&M Marching 100 from 1946-2001. Foster's many contributions include introducing the performance of Black popular music with intricate choreography during hall-time shows. He also authored

“Band Pageantry: A Guide for the Marching Band.” Under Foster’s leadership, the Florida A&M band won the John Phillip Sousa Foundation’s Sudler Trophy (1985) and was chosen by France to represent the United States during the bicentennial of the French Revolution (1989). Foster was concerned with creating a relationship between football audiences and marching bands. Reprinted in a New York Time article in 2010, announcing Foster’s death is a quote from a 1989 interview,

There’s a psychology to running a band. People want to hear the songs they hear on the radio. It gives them an immediate relationship with you, and then there’s the energy. Lots of energy in playing and marching. Dazzle them with it, energy (Goldstein, 2010, p. 160).

Kirksey and Foster are credited with having launched the careers of noted jazz artists Julian “Cannonball” Adderley (1928-1975) saxophone, Nathaniel “Nat” Adderley (1931-2000) trumpet, and David “Panama” Francis (1918-2001), drums. Julian Adderley was originally a cornet player before Kirksey switched him to saxophone. David Francis said of the “chief,” “If things had been a little different he would have been one of the greatest classical violin players in the country” (Tuckwood & Kleimberg, 2000, p. 160). Julian Adderley and Kerna D. McFarlin (1924-1997) became graduates of Florida A&M. Adderley’s public school teaching career was brief (Dillard High School in Ft. Lauderdale, FL). McFarlan began his teaching career in Stanton (Jacksonville, FL). Students from McFarlin’s bands became a major source of students for Florida A&M bands. His membership in FABD bolstered his skills and confidence as a teacher, improving his relationship with his students.

In an effort to get my students to be more attentive to all the elements required in perfect performance, I overemphasized the student's shortcomings, i.e., playing too loudly with poor tone quality and intonation, sloppy articulation, etc. which eventually caused my students to lose confidence in their abilities to play well (Richardson, 1999, p. 57).

McFarlin describes the ways relationships with other FABD members trained him to be a better teacher. It is clear this growth influenced more than just his students. A Times-Union obituary notice praises the bridges McFarlin built between the school in which he taught, students, parents, the school board, and the mayor of Jacksonville, FL. "Kerna... had to display some hope when things were at their darkest. More, he had to bridge a community that was fast becoming polarized. He as a saxophone among the whistles" (The Times-Union, 1997).

FABD's influence in the Black community and their schools is documented in organizational literature. FABD's first president, Kirksey Lee, and his wife took multiple trips throughout Florida. Local meetings were used to encourage parents to advocate for the addition of band music and band programs in their schools. Through contacts made during these trips, music programs and funding for music programs increased throughout public schools in Black communities.

FABD also had a relationship with its White organizational counterpart, The Florida Band Association (FBA). These two groups existed as separate groups because it was the law and practice. The relationship was at first philosophical. To compete at the same level, FABD adopted performance standards and wording outlined by the FBA.

Many FBA members collaborated, unofficially, with FABD. Additionally, Kirksey organized an African American counterpart to the Florida Music Educators branch of MEA in 1952. Collaborations between band directors and vocal music educators occurred between the FABD, the FBA, and the Florida Music Educators of MEA. The newly formed Florida State Music Educators Association (FSMEA) grew to include orchestra and elementary education.

Music instrument purchases from music stores, advertisements in clinic publicity, and in arrangements for lodging and meals provide examples of external customer capital in the form of relationships with for-profit businesses. Typical of the period, segregated lodging posed difficulties. Student accommodations typically included sleeping on gymnasium floors or in the home of guest families. The relationships developed between these host families, and music students is another example of customer capital. Lodging for band directors was more difficult as the following example illustrates. The physical appearance of band director Michael A. Rodriquez (Middleton High School of Tampa, FL.) was used to the group's advantage because of his light skin tone. Rodriquez acted as the "front man" who would rent a room in a motel. The rest of the group would enter through the back entrance.

National Association of Negro Musicians (1919- present).

Through membership in NANM Black music students were provided opportunities to perform on a national stage in mass performance groups directed by national and international conductors. Students enjoyed professional performances by nationally and internationally known performers. They learned repertoire composed by

composers of African descent, honed their performance skills through competitions, and were provided coaching experiences with high caliber Black professionals. Funded by scholarships, young Black music students were able to achieve their academic goals, completing Bachelors, Masters, and Ph.D. degree programs. Others combined completion of academic goals with lucrative careers on national and international stages.

The list of NANM Scholarship winners includes some of the most important musicians and composers of their eras. The list of luminaries includes vocalists, Marian Anderson, Grace Bumbry; composer/conductor William L. Dawson, conductor Warren George Wilson, pianist/composers Margaret Bonds (piano), Julia Perry, and Florence B. Price; and pianists, Leon Bates, Joseph Joubert, and Awadgin Pratt. Two recipients of NANM scholarships are presented as examples of internal customer capital.

Contralto, operatic singer, and recitalist, Marian Anderson received NANM's first scholarship in 1919. Fueled by her win, she made her New York debut at Town Hall in 1924. Discouraged by poor attendance, she considered giving up her dreams of being a professional vocalist. Her dream was revitalized, the following year, when she won the National Music League competition earning a solo appearance with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. Anderson went on to give concerts across the United States and Europe including nine transcontinental U.S. tours. It was this appearance to which conductor Arturo Toscanini gave the memorable assessment, "Yours is a voice such as one hears once in a hundred years." Anderson's Metropolitan Opera debut occurred 30 years later in 1955. One of the beneficiaries of Anderson's pioneering accomplishment, Leontyne Price, said of her customer capital, "Her example of professionalism,

uncompromising standards, overcoming obstacles, persistence, resiliency and undaunted spirit inspired me to believe that I could achieve goals that otherwise would have been unthought of” (Kozinn, 1993).

Pianist Leonard O. Hayes is the Director of Piano Studies at Booker T. Washington High School for the Performing and Visual Arts in Dallas, Texas. In 2010, he placed third in NANM’s Piano Competition. Funds from this award supported his studies at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin. He was the 2015 winner of NANM’s National Piano Competition. The scholarship assisted with his achievement of a Master of Music in Performance and Literature at the University of Rochester's Eastman School of Music. In the summer of 2016, Hayes traveled to Ochsenhausen, Germany to participate in the International Summer Academy of Music's Piano Competition.

Membership in NANM, in some cases, led to the founding of additional culture-producing organizations. Renowned vocal coach and accompanist Sylvia Olden Lee (1917-2004), the first African American to be employed by the Metropolitan Opera, credited NANM’s performance of a concert version of Verdi’s *Aida* as the catalyst leading to the creation of National Opera Ebony (1973). This organization extends the goals and mission of NANM by hosting the Ben Matthews Vocal Competition and by “enriching the lives of people throughout the world with thrilling operatic and concert performances” (“Opera Ebony | Home,” 2014).

Through membership in NANM, Black composers developed relationships with teachers, conductors, and students that provided ways to disseminate their music. The repertoire of Black composers was also disseminated through reading sessions,

workshops, and performances at the local and national conference level. The practice of requiring a composition by a composer of African descent in competitions also created a symbiotic relationship between performer and composer. An additional benefit of membership was the opportunity to obtain financial assistance through the Florence Brantley Choral Arranging Competition.

Hotels, restaurants, transportation services, and professional printing companies benefitted by the many conventions, performances, and regional, local, and national meetings held by NANM throughout the United States. These contributions are rarely seen, discussed or studied. NANM for example, over its 97-year history, has hosted a national convention every year with the exception of one in cities throughout the United States. Each national convention included a hotel and concert halls at various schools.

National Black Music Caucus (1972- present).

Clemenceau-Taylor (1984) identifies the customer capital of the National Black Music Caucus (BMC) in its function as an advocate for equal opportunities for Black and other members of color within Music Educators National Conference (MENC). BMC exerted pressure on MENC to better represent music educators of color. Through BMC, MENC provided members with opportunities to network with musicians and music educators of color from across the United States. Through national conventions held every two years in concurrence with MENC national conventions, members of color were able to voice their concerns as teachers of color and as teachers of students of color. Because the membership of BMC included avocational musicians, it provided opportunities for avocational musicians to develop relationships with performers and

music educators.

The benefits provided to MENC included professional resources lists and an increased membership of Black teachers. BMC was the catalyst for the establishment of the Minority Concerns Commission within MENC and provided most of the original leadership for the commission. The strong sense of pride felt by BMC members was evident in brief conversations with former board member W. Rayford Johnson. According to Johnson, BMC was instrumental in setting the organization format followed by 1970s Black music teacher groups across the country. Johnson's fond memories and pride provide ample evidence of customer loyalty.

Much of the intellectual capital produced by African Americans was affected by a history of slavery and racism. The development of certain types of human capital was encouraged and financially supported by mainstream society because they were beneficial to mainstream society. Because human capital in the form of music was beneficial to White society, Africans and African Americans were provided musical instruments, lessons, and time to develop skills. They were valued as musicians, composers, and music teachers. Human capital in Western Art Music was developed in the form of compositions, performances, pedagogies, and curriculum African American scholars preserved these contributions and the history of Black music genres and styles through published books and articles.

Unique structural and customer capital was also developed as an effect of systemic and institutional racism. When denied access to mainstream institutions, African Americans created organizations, which in turn built institutions. Unique structural

capital included blurring the lines between sacred and secular elements, an ever-expanding mission, and financial instability. Customer capital in All-Black organization included strong networks with communities of color. African Americans developed relationships with educational institutions and culture-producing organizations to further the political and social progress of their people. The elements found in this brief history of human, structural, and customer capital of African Americans were also reflected in the history of the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities.

Chapter 3: Desegregation Plans in the Twin Cities

Many of the members of Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities (BMETC) came to the Twin Cities because of the large number of jobs available. These jobs were made possible as part of 1970s desegregation/integration efforts. To situate BMETC within the desegregation efforts of St. Paul and Minneapolis, a brief history of the desegregation/integration efforts is provided in Chapter 3.

The State of Minnesota School and Desegregation/Integration History

In 1849, the territorial legislature of Minnesota enacted a law providing “common schools” for all between the ages of 4 and twenty. The law divided townships into school districts. Population size determined school districts. Geographic areas having more than five families constituted a school district. Funds from local property taxes, fees from liquor licenses, and fines for criminal offenses were used to support these schools. By 1851, there were three public schools in the state with a total of 250 students enrolled. Edward D. Neill (1823-1893), a Presbyterian minister was appointed as the first territorial superintendent of public instruction in 1854.

When Minnesota became a state in 1858, provision was made for a state superintendent of public education. Neill became that state superintendent. The 1861 legislature turned townships into school districts. Town supervisors became school trustees, and the township clerks and treasurers became school officials. A neighborhood plan replaced the previous district plans in 1862. Using neighborhoods as school districts created a system in which individual schools and school districts were allowed to operate guided by their own rules. Education programs beyond elementary school were primarily

open only to members of the upper economic class. Superintendent Horace B. Wilson (1821-1908) appointed a committee to plan a course of study for a high school that he called, “the people’s college” (A History of the State Department of Education in Minnesota, n.d., p. 6).

William D. Green (1997) opined the desegregation of public schools was already happening at different levels throughout Minnesota previous to 1863. St. Paul’s earliest school had students of many heritages including Scot, English, French, Cree and Chippewa, and the children of the unions of the heritages. So-called desegregation was occurring despite the fact Minnesota as first a free territory, then a free state, allowed the ownership of Africans as slaves. Examples of what were described as desegregated schools included Peter Garrioch’s (1811-1888) school at St Peter’s settlement in Mendota which listed French, Swiss, Swedes, Indians, “half-breeds of various nationalities, and a sprinkling of English-speaking Americans and Canadians, with an occasional Negro” (Gunn, 1939, p. 121).

The organization of the public school systems went from using population as the determinant of whether or not a school should be built to using established townships as the basis for forming a school district. Subsequently, school districts were organized based on sections of cities, called neighborhoods. The next major reorganization of public schools occurred in 1965. At one time, Minnesota had more than 700 one-room schoolhouses. Most of the one-room schools represented obsolete educational institutions. The state began making sweeping decisions about how many schools were needed to handle the current population of potential students. Many of the schools were

closed. Larger buildings were built to accommodate multiple neighborhoods, and in some rural areas, buildings were built to accommodate students from multiple towns.

In January of 1967, the State Board of Education began taking steps toward developing a statewide school desegregation policy. First, it approved a one-page statement regarding racial imbalance and discrimination. This statement included defining racial imbalance as existing when the number of non-White students in a school was “substantial.” The statement, however, did not provide a reporting procedure nor did it outline penalties for non-compliance. Second, the state required local districts to take reasonable steps to correct the racial imbalance.

St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth attempted to desegregate public spaces, which included school during the 1970s. These attempts were made necessary, in part, because of increasing minority populations attending public schools. In St. Paul and Minneapolis, the minority population increased by 8.7 % and 11.7 % respectively (Stephenson, 1979). Under Governors Anderson (1971-1976) and Perpich (1976-1979), Minnesota established rules to accomplish racial desegregation. With the establishment of these rules, Minnesota became only one of a handful of states proposing school desegregation legislation at the state level. (Sullivan, 2000). Minnesota was also among eight states which as early as 1973 had “imposed some type of quota on teacher education programs and/or established new criteria for accepting (actually limiting) teacher candidates” (Ornstein, 1983, p. 413).

The state attempted to impose a unified plan for opening and maintaining schools and a uniform way to desegregate students, teachers, staff, and administrators in public

schools. Most of these efforts were considered voluntary. As a result, individual cities, as well as school districts, were free to choose how and if desegregation would happen.

With this overview of state public school history, the histories of the public school systems of St. Paul and Minneapolis and desegregation efforts of the 1960s and 70s are presented.

St. Paul Public Schools

Catharine Beecher (1800-1878) came from a family of activists. Her sister was the well-known Abolitionist, Harriet Beecher Stowe. At a time when wealthy women were not provided with an education, Beecher took up the cause of education reform, including quality education for women, and the promotion of teacher training. In 1852, she founded the American Women's Educational Association to recruit and train teachers to staff schools on the frontier. The program was formed to help educate and civilize frontier children. Harriet E. Bishop (1817-1883), a student of Beecher's at the New York State Normal College, traveled to what would become the Minnesota Territory, opening the first public and Sunday schools in St. Paul (1847). In addition to teaching, Bishop became involved in the temperance movement, educational reform, and women's suffrage. Her Sunday school became the catalyst for establishing the First Baptist Church of St. Paul in 1849.

Before 1850, the three St. Paul public schools were unofficially racially and socioeconomically integrated. One of the schools, organized in the basement of a Methodist Church was constructed with materials provided by Free African Jim Thompson. By the mid-1850s, White prejudice fueled by national tensions regarding

slavery and a growing influx of free and fugitive Blacks into Minnesota combined with a “cooling reception offered by St. Paul’s established Black residents” (Green, 1997, p. 142) made the settlement of new Black residents difficult. Failed bills were sponsored discouraging black settlement and limiting settlement to St. Anthony and Minneapolis.

St. Paul’s first school board, organized in 1856, consisted of nine elected and two ex-officio members. Black children in St. Paul were actively discouraged from attending public schools. In 1857, The St. Paul Board of Education formally resolved to segregate all public schools by providing a teacher and a schoolroom for every 30 Black students. Free African Moses Dixon was appointed as the teacher to St. Paul’s first segregated school for Black students. It was closed very shortly after it opened when student enrollment dropped from 30 to 15. To respond to the lower numbers of Black students actively seeking enrollment in segregated public schools, the St. Paul Board of Education -established a second school for black children in late 1859, with 15, instead of 30 pupils as the minimum required. The school, housed in a building at Ninth and Jackson streets had no furniture. A teacher only known as Miss Morrow was hired and given a monthly salary of \$35.00. Despite criticisms levied by the *St. Paul Daily* regarding the dilapidated condition of the school, this second school was allowed to deteriorate, retention of a teacher failed, and student attendance fell. Consequently, this second school closed after only a few months. In the same period, several segregated schools for White students were built. Period photos in Green’s text show new buildings with students and teachers standing outside. The newly built Washington and Franklin schools are pictured with 14 and 13 students respectively.

President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation freeing all persons held as slaves in 1863. That same year, Minnesota Republican Governor William R. Marshall (1825-1896) welcomed Black citizens of St. Paul to “liberty and equality before the law” (Green, 1997, p. 147). During the Civil War, more contraband Blacks moved into Minnesota, primarily to St. Paul as Minneapolis barred them from settling. Multiple attempts were made to organize segregated schools for contraband⁷ children to prevent what White St. Paulites called, racial-mingling. Members of the Golden Key Club, a literary society of Black St. Paulites filed a petition stressing the need for better educational options in 1865. Since literacy was linked with good citizenship and the Republican-dominated House supported Black suffrage and desegregation, a bill was enacted into law, forcing St. Paul to end segregation in its public schools in 1869.

The Plessy v. Ferguson decision made segregation constitutional in 1896. St. Paulites saw the decision as reflective of southern sensibilities. While Jim Crow existed in covenants denying Black ownership of homes in certain neighborhoods, the school system integrated education was a “way of life (p. 149). The school board was abolished in 1912 and replaced with a commissioner of education. This commissioner would be one of six commissioners in Saint Paul’s newly established commission form of government. By 1914, the city of St. Paul began performing the duties of a school board (“A brief history of Saint Paul public schools,” 2015). The African American community in St. Paul grew throughout the next 50 years St. Paul.

⁷ The term, contraband was used during the Civil War .to identify African slaves freed by the Emancipation Proclamation.

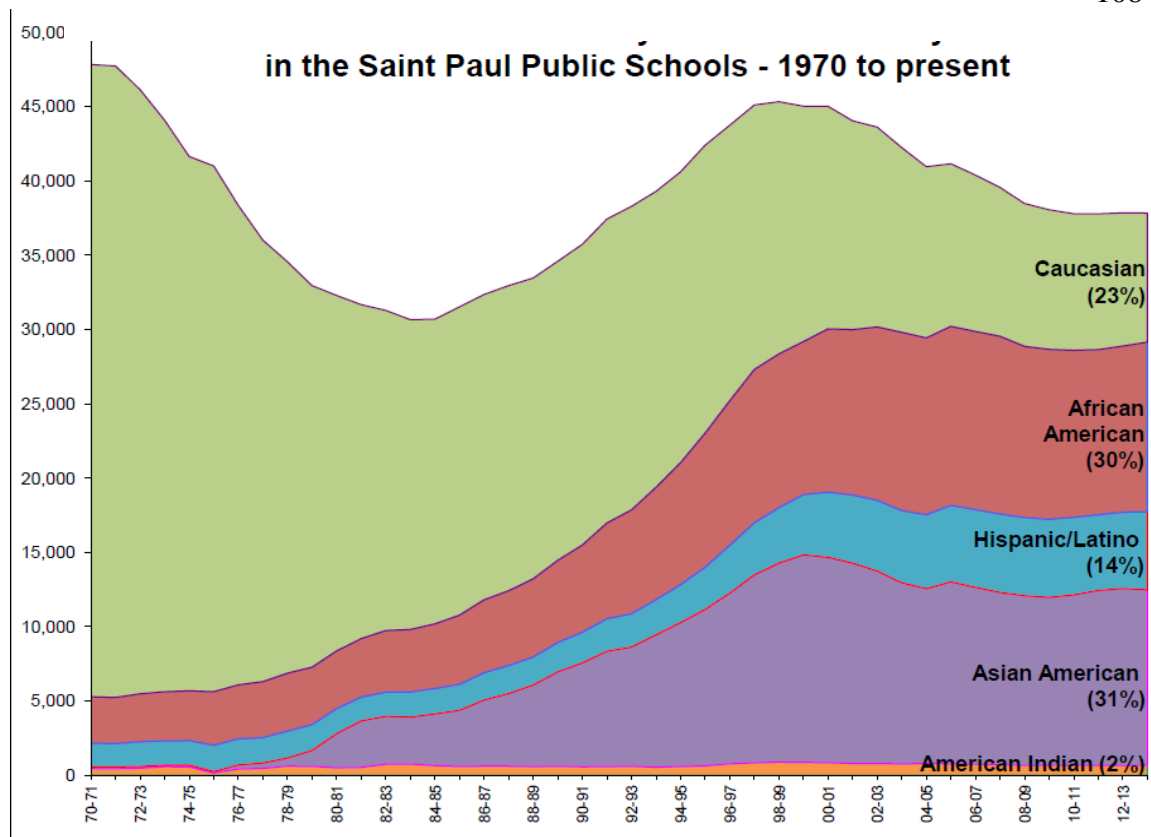


Figure 3. Enrollment Trends in the St. Paul Public Schools 1970 to Present. Reprinted by permission from the St. Paul Public schools.

The percentage of minorities in the St. Paul public schools increased from 11.2 % in 1971 to 19.9 % in 1978. (See Figure 3). The St. Paul Human Rights Commission sued the school district in 1971, charging that the public schools were not in compliance with guidelines set by the State Board of Education relating to equal educational opportunity. Five schools in St. Paul exceeded 50 % minority enrollment. For the 1973-74 school year, the percentages of minority students at James J. Hill and Maxfield elementary schools were reported as 77 % and 99 %, respectively. By 1978, the overall enrollment of minority elementary students was 22.4 %, the junior high percentage was 18.8 %, and the senior high was 14 %. St. Paul applied the techniques of pairing elementary buildings,

along with modification and enriched curriculum as efforts to attract a voluntary desegregated population. Though not approved by the State Board as a way to meet desegregation regulations, the St. Paul Board of Education enacted a system of learning centers. Schools were organized into clusters, which in turn participated voluntarily in a learning center. Each learning center focused on one academic subject. These learning centers provided a place separate from the home school where students spent part of a school day in specialized training in fields such as art, science, and world culture. “St. Paul pupils, it was anticipated, would only be in the specialized learning center for half a day twice each week; and the home or base, schools would remain segregated, at least by definition contained in the state guidelines” (Mazzoni, 1974, p. 96). While the State Board, Commissioner, and Equal Opportunity Officer praise the academic merits of St. Paul’s clustered learning centers, they agreed these programs would not sufficiently desegregate the its public schools. The State Board allowed St. Paul to be in non-compliance as they were trying to pass a bond issue for new school construction.

Once the bond campaign was approved, the State Board used this success to permit St. Paul to come up with a better overall plan for desegregation. For the 1978-79 school year 6,867 minorities were enrolled in St. Paul public schools of which 57 % were African American, nine percent students were American Indian, eight percent were Asian American, and 26.3 % were Hispanic.

Minneapolis History and Desegregation/Integration Efforts

The first educational institution in what became Minneapolis opened on the shores of Lake Harriet in 1834. Among students served by Reverend J.D. Stevens' school were members of the Cloud Man's band of Mdewakanton Dakota. Chief Cloud Man's group was settled in the agricultural community known as Heyate Otunwe on the shores of Bde Maka Ska, the present-day site of Lakewood Cemetery. The first private or subscription school opened in 1849, in St. Anthony and in 1851-52, a school was opened on the west side of the Mississippi river founded by Mary Schofield. By 1874, there were six school buildings in Minneapolis and four school buildings in St. Anthony (part of Minneapolis since 1872) with a total enrollment of 3,807. The two community's school boards were joined and represented by one Board of Education by legislative act in 1878. This Board managed all public schools for the city of Minneapolis ("Welcome to the MPS historical archive: A brief history," 2013). Between 1849 and 1962, the Minneapolis Board of Education developed comprehensive building designs reflected in the current 50 elementary, junior, and senior high schools.

In 1960, the Committee for Integrated Education (CIE), a multiracial group of citizens, was formed to convince the school board and administrators that public school desegregation was essential for Minneapolis. When John B. Davis (1922-2011) became superintendent of Minneapolis Public Schools in 1967, he initiated, along with the school board, numerous programs to address segregation. Davis instituted a voluntary busing plan in 1969 that became mandatory in 1970. The following chart was created for the May 1977 report from the Minneapolis Public Schools to the United States Commission

on Civil Rights.

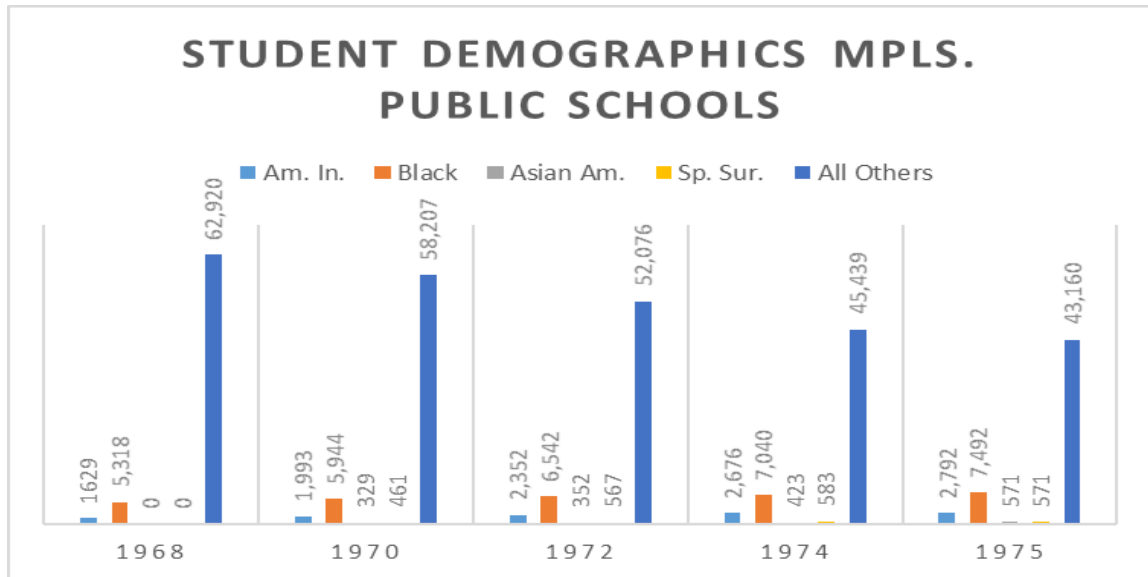


Table 1. Demographics of minority students enrolled in Minneapolis public schools 1968-1975. Information provided by Dr. Robert Williams, associate superintendent for intergroup education, Minneapolis Public Schools, January 1976.

The population of Black citizens in Minneapolis grew 61 % from 1960 to 1970. (see Table 1). They lived in two geographic pockets, one south, and one in the north. The two geographic pockets were also reflected in the school system. Syndicated columnist James J. Kilpatrick noted, 8.1 % of Black students enrolled in Minneapolis public school were concentrated in four elementary schools, three located in the north and one in the south. These schools were John Hay, built in 1905 at 1014 Penn Avenue North, Bethune, built in 1968 at 919 Emerson Avenue North; Willard built in 1910 at 1615 Queen Avenue North, and Field, built in 1921 at 4645 4th Avenue South. Older students were concentrated in two junior high schools, one in north Minneapolis and one in south Minneapolis. Lincoln was built in 1905 at 2131 Penn Avenue North and Bryant was built in 1923 at 3737 3rd Avenue South). Two high schools were also concentrated in two

geographic pockets. Central was built in 1913 at 3416 4th Avenue South and North was built between 1973-4 at 1500 James Avenue North. Table 2 presents the population of White teachers and teachers of color assigned to Minneapolis public schools in the years from 1968 to 1975. For the 1975-6 academic year, 90% of the 6,600 educators were white, 8% were Black and just over 1% were Native American.

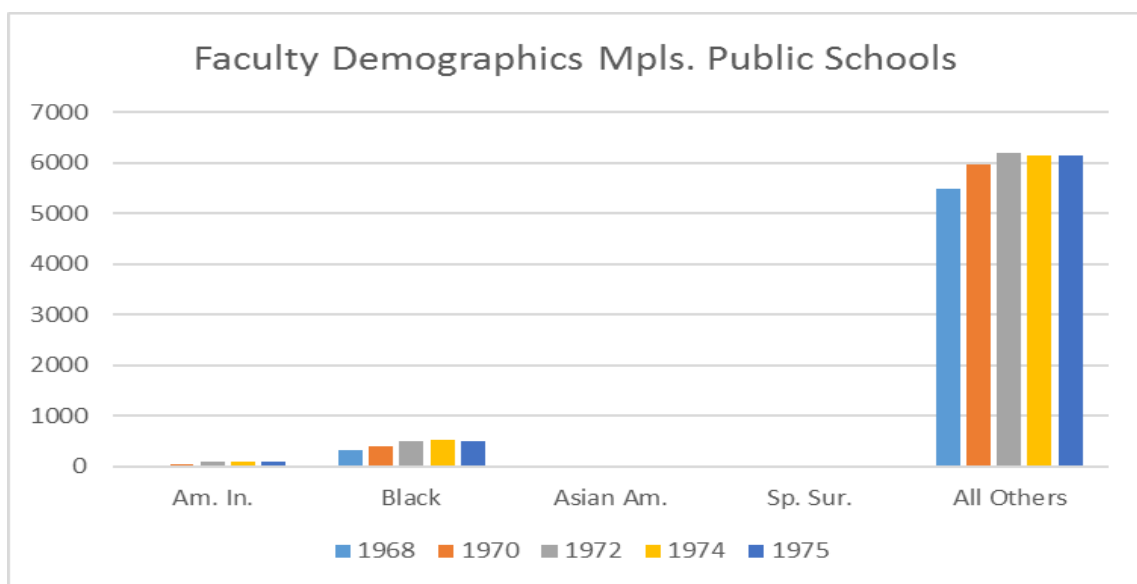


Table 2. Teacher demographics in Minneapolis Public Schools 1968-1975. Information provided by Dr. Robert Williams, associate superintendent for intergroup education, Minneapolis Public Schools, January 1976.

Curtis C. Chivers, David G. Hage, and James M. Willis sued the Minneapolis Public School system on behalf of the children of Minneapolis. The suit named, Jeanette Booker, granddaughter of Chivers, George S. Hage, son of Hage, and Montez Willis, daughter of Willis as plaintiffs. Larry B. Leventhal served as amicus curiae on behalf of the Indian Parent Committee of Minneapolis. The suit charged the school board with de jure segregation. The suit, *Booker v. Special School District No. 1, Minneapolis*,

Minnesota was decided on May 24, 1972 by United States District Court Judge Earl R.

Larson. The school district was found in violation of the 14th Amendment to the U.S.

Constitution and upheld the plaintiffs' contention Minneapolis public schools were segregated by race.

The judgment enjoined Minneapolis public schools from further racial discrimination, and ordered the district to take affirmative action in the form of a comprehensive desegregation plan. Annual progress reports were to be provided (585 F. 2d 347 - Booker v. Special School District No. 1 Minneapolis Minnesota, 1972).

The district's 1972 integration/desegregation plan included

- a coordinated plan for new school buildings,
- curricula to develop awareness of local and national ethnic heritage
- the implementation of a middle school concept, busing, magnet programs to attract White students into schools with high minority student populations
- an organized plan for the recruitment of faculty and staff of color
- sensitivity training of current administration, staff, and faculty

A 1977 report compiled by the Commission on Civil Rights noted these efforts were not entirely successful. While the enrollment of minority students increased the percentage of teachers of color fell considerably. The report also cited as problematic, the assignment of teachers. The court ordered the current population of teachers of color were to be assigned in such a way that at one teacher of color could be found in a facility before another faculty member could be assigned. This was to prevent assigning large

numbers of faculty of color to only a few schools. The Commission on Civil Rights further found the Minneapolis school desegregation plan did not consider “all-white or nearly all-white schools” as segregated and in need of desegregation (Commission & Rights, 1977, p. 16).

It is into this environment that the teachers who became founding members of BMETC entered as public school teachers and as educators of music teachers. Many of BMETC’s members were transplants from southern states who came to Minnesota because of the large number teaching jobs available and the state funding which provided for desegregation efforts. Chapter 4 will present a documented history of BMETC from its beginnings in 1974 to 1994.

Chapter 4: A Documented History of the BMETC

An Auspicious Beginning (October 1974-1975)

The BMETC following in the tradition of All-Black volunteer organizations and movements was born out of an observed unmet need. Organizations born in this way, exude a passion that becomes an innate element of mission statements. The excitement comes from the feeling that unmet needs are being addressed. This excitement and passion supports membership growth and emboldens organizations in their early years. However, beginnings based on fulfilling unmet needs is a double-edged sword. While excitement and passion fuel organizations in their early years, excitements and passion also be a prime source of burn-out leading to short lifespans. Part of their mission of organizations similar to BMETC including NANM, FABD, the African American Music Opportunities Association (AAMOA), and BMC was meeting the unfulfilled needs of Black music students.

October 1974- May 1975.

Officers: W. Rayford Johnson, president. Samuel Bivens, vice president. Margaret LaFleur, secretary. Keith Cook, treasurer. C. Edward Thomas, chaplain, Sandy Jackson, historian.

The auspicious beginning of BMETC occurred following a presentation on African American music to Twin Cities' public school teachers by University of Minnesota faculty members Geneva H. Southall and Reginald T. Buckner. Black public school teachers Doris Terry (Sheridan Jr. High), Margaret LaFleur (Clinton and Greeley

schools), and Jacqueline Hooper (White Bear Elementary) approached Dr. Southall. They were chagrined at the “lack of knowledge and sensitivity” (Buckner, 1976, p. 1) displayed by their White counterparts concerning the music and contributions of African American composers. They expressed the need for a collective way to counteract what they identified as “evidence of institutional racism in the discipline of Music Education” (p. 1).

Southall planned what she called a *Coffee Hour Fellowship* on October 19, 1974. At that first gathering, Anthony Elliott, Black principal cellist for the Minnesota Orchestra and Reginald T. Buckner confirmed the need for an organization of Black music educators offering their personal experiences as support. In addition to feelings of isolation and experiences of racism, the group expressed concerns regarding the lack of personal and financial support for Black music students in public school systems. Elliott added to this his concern that Black music students were not being encouraged to pursue symphonic careers.

Two members of the African American Opportunities Association (AAMOA), C. Edward Thomas and W. Rayford Johnson were in attendance at the coffee hour. C. Edward Thomas (Bethel College) was the Executive Director and founder of AAMOA. W. Rayford Johnson (Highland Park Sr. High) and AAMOA board member. Thomas requested support and assistance for AAMOA’s *Third Black Composers Symposium* to be held in Minneapolis (May 19-23, 1975). The choice of Minneapolis was significant as the organizational home of AAMOA and because these symposiums were typically only held in cities having a Historically Black college or university (HBCU). Thomas submitted to

those gathered, a proposed list of Black composers, performers, and educators of national and international acclaim who would be asked to participate in the symposium. Most of the teachers, students, and graduates who presented were related to an HBCU. Because no local musical or academic talent was included in the list, it became clear to the gathered Twin Citians, the assistance Thomas requested from Minnesota's Black teachers was tantamount to providing "leg work." After Thomas left the meeting, those still in attendance expressed concerns regarding the lack of meaningful involvement of host city performers, composers, and educators.

Questions and statements from those present left no doubt that despite the uniqueness in Minneapolis of having no Black college, there still should be input from those Black music educators and performers in the symposium both as participants and to some degree in planning (Southall, 1974a, p. 2).

It was decided Southall would poll teachers on contact lists, to see if they shared these concerns. She would then contact Thomas and AAMOA's national planning committee consultants, Drs. Marian Brown and Dominique de Lerma in written form outlining local concerns. The letter sent to Brown, de Lerma, and Thomas voices the passion of Dr. Southall as BMETC's representative and primary voice.

In order that you can better understand my own gut feelings and concerns at this time, I feel a need to tune you in with information about several of the persons in attendance. What follows are the achievements of Twin Cities' educators and musicians. Noted are three graduates of Alabama State College (an HBCU), the national acclaim of Gary Hines as director of the "Sounds of Blackness," the

thriving careers of soloists, Frank Gaymon and Doris Terry; the work of Margaret LaFleur as an Elementary School Specialist, and the national and international acclaim of MN Orchestra's Anthony Elliott and founder/conductor of the Greater Twin Cities Youth Orchestra (GTCYS) William LaRue Jones. With this type of overview I have hopefully impressed upon you the importance of not using the "cop out" excuse that the Twin Cities offers a problem having no Black colleges as in Baltimore and Houston had. After all it has been brought to your attention via communication and personal attendance at the Black Music Educators get together that there are qualified and willing persons who can counteract that reality (Southall, 1974b).

Southall was relentless in her pursuit for recognition of local Black music professionals in the AAMOA symposium. Subsequent letters to Black music educators document phone calls, personal conversations, and follow-up letters, from Southall on behalf of Twin Cities' teachers and performers. A quote from Southall's letter to Twin Cities' teachers follows.

Meantime I have enclosed for your information a tentative program (as devised by Dr. Dominique de Lerma, music consultant for the Symposium) of the forthcoming AAMOA Symposium It should be noted that the finalization itself will be, according to my knowledge after a meeting being held by those persons in charge of the programs on February 17th. Likewise (sic) enclosed is a communication which I sent to Mr. C. Edward Thomas, Executive Director of AAMOA, raising questions about a meeting to seek some local input last month.

You should be aware that this particular communication, coming as it did one day before I received the tentative program from Dr. de Lerma, is one of several in which I had raised the issue of the utilization of local music educators, performers, etc., if there is to be any long range musical impact to the larger community. Hopefully, my consistent input coupled with oral and writing communication to me from you and that and our recent meeting with Mr. Thomas will bear some fruits in this endeavor (Southall, 1975a, p. 2).

The endeavors, Southall mentions in the above quote did, in fact, bear fruit. Because of the pressure Southall imposed on AAMOA, local musicians, teachers and students were highlighted in the five-day symposium. Music students in public schools met and heard from Black composers and performers during scheduled visits, workshops, and master classes featuring African American musicians and composers with national careers. The University of Minnesota (U of M) student orchestra performed public reading sessions of Art music by composers of African descent, and reading sessions of compositions by Black composers led by Black guest conductors were performed by the Minnesota Orchestra, directed by African American conductor, Paul Freeman (1936-2015). The *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra* by Billy Taylor (1921-2010) was performed by the Minnesota Orchestra under the baton of Leonard Slatkin with Taylor at the piano.

Included as part of the symposium was an organizational meeting of the original October group of Black teachers and musicians that was held on March 19, 1975. New contacts developed by LaFleur, Southall, and Buckner were invited to this meeting. This

meeting culminated in an organization that was officially named the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities (BMETC). The business of that meeting included the nomination and election of BMETC's first officers: W. Rayford Johnson (President), Samuel Bivens (Vice President), Margaret LaFleur (Secretary), C. E. Thomas (Chaplain), and Sandy Jackson (Historian). Southall and Luther Stripling were named consultants to the organization. Permanent meetings were scheduled for the second Saturday of the month at 4:00 p.m. and membership dues were set at \$5.00. The University of Minnesota continued as the venue for meetings. Committees were formalized to include Executive, Finance, Music Stores Input, Minnesota Music Educators Association Overseeing, Scholarship, Public Relations, and Constitution. These committees, their charge, and membership, formalized in October 1975 are discussed in chapter four.

Building on the visibility acquired during the AAMOA symposium, BMETC began to develop a network that began with Black music teachers, students, and performers. The second level of BMETC's network included organizations, represented by BMETC member's volunteer and professional activities, which included churches, universities and colleges, public schools, fraternities and sororities and professional and political activities. Churches where BMETC members were members, became sites for chamber concerts during the AAMOA Black Composers Symposium. Local church facilities were used for organizational meetings, scholarship recitals, holiday dinners, and chamber concerts. The University of Minnesota (U of M) was an institution with whom BMETC had a relationship due in large part to the participation of faculty members Southall, Buckner, and Elliott. The multi-purpose room in the Afro-American Studies

department served as the primary venue for meetings in BMETC's infancy.

In May of 1976, the group began its fundraising efforts in earnest. The efforts included registering patrons for events and providing businesses with advertisement space in event materials. Keith Cook (MacPhail) was nominated and elected by vote to fill the vacancy for the office of Treasurer. Cook was charged with setting up a banking account at the First Plymouth National Bank (Minneapolis). On September 14, 1975, BMETC began the practice of recommending books and articles of interest to the group, sharing performance calendars, and establishing a BMETC calendar of events to be included as part of meeting minutes. Recommendations of books and articles was a continuance of their strategy to provide professional development for its members. Supporting events planned and executed by BMETC members became a priority, and the establishment of a BMETC calendar and the sharing of upcoming performance calendars accomplished this. Cook completed his charge as treasurer before the October meeting and began providing treasury reports at monthly meetings. President Johnson also opened discussion regarding 501.C.3 non-profit status. Chaplain Thomas suggested becoming a chapter of the National Black Music Caucus (BMC) to acquire non-profit status.

Throughout the remaining months of 1975, BMETC members identified unmet needs of Black music students and began strategizing to:

1. Combat invisibility of Black teachers and compositions within clinics, workshops, and conventions sponsored by local and national professional music teacher organizations.
2. Address the lack of compositions by Black composers sold in Twin Cities'

music stores

3. Participate in the preparation of Black music students for college.
4. Provide professional development opportunities for its members.

The visibility BMETC enjoyed because of its high-powered and connected members led to requests for BMETC's support whenever the event included a Black performer or a Black musical genre. One example of this was Barbara Swartz's request for BMETC's support of the *Milo Fine Project*. White jazz artist, Milo Fine was to be supported with BMETC's help as an Artist-in-Residence at Anwatin Middle School in North Minneapolis. Swartz, the Community Coordinator for Anwatin, requested BMETC financially support the *Milo Fine Project* and proposed Reginald T. Buckner serve as a consultant, clinician, and performer as an in-kind donation. The response from BMETC was immediate. Members expressed their indignation that Ms. Swartz had approached a group of Black teachers and performers to support a White avant-garde jazz personality as an authority in Black music. As a part of the completion of BMETC's first strategy to combat the invisibility of Black teachers, the letter sent to Swartz made visible the highly qualified African American jazzman, Samuel Bivens, a teacher at Anwatin.

"We encourage you to pursue this matter with Mr. Bivens to find out if he is willing to work with you on this project" (R. W. Johnson, 1975). Archives do not indicate a conclusion to this issue.

The second strategy, addressing the lack of compositions by Black composers sold in Twin Cities' music stores, was assigned to a Music Stores Input Committee. Membership of the committee included C. Edward Thomas (Bethel College), Frank

Wharton (Central Sr. High), Sandy Jackson (Webster Elementary), Margaret LaFleur, Felix James (Washington Sr. High), Tony White (Professional School of the Arts), and Shirley McClaine (Ramsey Jr. High). The committee developed relationships with owners, managers, and buyers of major music stores to advocate the purchase and sale of compositions by composers of African descent. They used repertoire lists developed by U of M faculty and students to educate sheet music buyers and to make available, through their contacts, hard-to-find compositions by Black composers. The expertise and established networks of C. Edward Thomas as the executive director of AAMOA was helpful because of the relationship AAMOA had with Black composers across the country.

The third strategy, “to participate in the preparation of Black music students for college” was discussed at the November 8th meeting. Reginald Buckner presented several concerns regarding the entrance requirements of college music programs. He identified one of the problems experienced by Black music students as “the exploitation of their natural talents and not nurturing the fundamentals” (LaFleur, 1975b, p. 2). An additional concern regarded restructuring efforts of the School of Music at the U of M and their potential negative effects on the enrollment of Black students. To this discussion, Southall offered the story of a Black harpist who had studied privately for many years but was not informed that entrance into a Wisconsin college required keyboard facility. Not having this skill prevented the student from gaining entrance into the program. “This is the kind of thing that must not continue to happen to our students” (p. 2).

To address these concerns, Buckner proposed a “Go to College” workshop for the Spring of 1976. This workshop was in alignment with Buckner’s additional objective to enroll more Twin Cities Black students in the School of Music at the U of M. The “Go to College” workshop proposed by Buckner would reach out to students who read music and students who were self-taught or ear-trained. To prepare for the workshop and beyond, BMETC members committed themselves to becoming aware of the variety of music careers available and prioritized the preparation of their students for entrance into music programs at colleges and universities. Buckner was elected by membership vote to chair the newly formed “Go to College” committee. Felix James suggested the newly formed committee identify Black music students, their talents and interests in music careers by creating a questionnaire that all members would distribute to counselors, music teachers, ministers, and community center personnel. Prior to the construction of the survey, Southall suggested inviting Black students currently enrolled in Twin Cities’ colleges and university music programs to the December BMETC meeting. Students would be asked to ask questions and to share problems and the frustrations they experienced. This information was used to guide the construction of the questionnaire. The archives did not contain the questionnaire or responses to it.

Graduate and undergraduate students from Lakewood Jr. College and the University of Minnesota attended the meeting held on December 13, 1975. The students gave examples of times when they felt both invisible and hypervisible in music programs and the unwelcoming nature of their programs. Also expressed were frustrations with the lack of courses in ethnomusicology and with teachers untrained to teach music from a

multi-disciplinary approach. The last group of concerns included what was seen as a prejudice against jazz as a legitimate musical genre and the need for the development of sight-reading skills while in high school music programs.

January 1976-May 1976.

Officers: W. Rayford Johnson, president. Samuel Bivens, vice president. Margaret LaFleur, secretary. Keith Cook, treasurer. C. Edward Thomas, chaplain, Sandy Jackson, historian. Geneva Southall, consultant.

W. Rayford Johnson, president opened the January 10, 1976 meeting. Following the approval of past meeting minutes, members shared upcoming activities in which they were involved. Dr. Southall and Doris Terry shared a negative experience they had at the Mid-Winter Clinic sponsored by the Schmitt Music Company. During a Gospel music workshop, the spiritual “Nobody Knows the Trouble I’ve Seen” was presented with Minstrel-like puppets pantomiming the lyrics. A Louis Armstrong recording provided the music for the puppet show. “this, of course was very degrading and insulting...” (LaFleur, 1976a, p. 2). Southall and Terry were tasked with composing a letter to Schmitt Music with copies to AAMOA and BMETC. No copies of this letter or of any response from Schmitt Music were found in any of the archive sets.

The February meeting was held on the 14th. Treasurer Keith Cook reported a balance of \$32.60 in checking and \$10.00 in savings. President Johnson handed out copies of his proposal for the structure of subcommittees. The group moved, seconded, and voted to accept the proposed subcommittee structure. In New Business, Buckner, Johnson, Southall, and LaFleur announced their intentions to attend the March 10-14

MNC biennial convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Members were encouraged to effect changes within the National Education Association (NEA) by attending the music sections of the meetings sponsored by NEA and the Mid-Winter Clinic of Minnesota Music Educators Association (MMEA) scheduled for February 1976. BMETC voted to become formally associated with the National Black Music Caucus (BMC) of MENC. Buckner, Southall, Johnson, and LaFleur made plans to attend the MENC National Conference (Atlantic City, New Jersey) at which time Johnson would present BMETC to the National Black Music Caucus meeting.

The relationship between the U of M and BMETC was further expanded when the search for a new director of bands identified African American bandleader, O'Neill Sanford as a finalist. BMETC as an organization was invited to participate in his onsite two-day interview process. BMETC was placed on Sanford's interview schedule for 6:00 p.m. on Monday, March 8. Southall highlights this visit on her copy of the schedule. She annotates the schedule with "*Now a respected organization in musical circles" ("Schedule, "O'Neill Sanford, Candidate for Marching Band Director, 7 March 1976, Box 1, Folder 1976, MLF, St. Paul, MN," 1976).

Members were impressed with the necessity of a constitution at the March 20th meeting. The Music Store Committee reported having met several times to create and organize repertoire lists. Their next priority was to contact music stores throughout the state. The MENC Oversight Committee reported Mark Lammers of MMEA was contacted and work would continue to ensure BMETC's input into planning and offerings

was communicated. Buckner reported on progress made toward the “Go to College” workshop. Sam Bivens reported his *Suite* would be published by Schmitt Music Company and premiered in Edina in the near future. Additional reports include one concerning the MENC national convention and of the performance of Treemonisha at Macalester College. Southall announced a new program at the April 10 meeting. The new program sponsored by the African /African American Studies department was the *Composer in Residence* program. African American composer and conductor Roger Dickerson was the first guest composer.

The 1st “Go to College” seminar, held April 11, 1976, included high school students, 15 educators from public schools and institutions of higher education, teachers from private studios and community programs, professional musicians from the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies (GTCYS), the Minnesota Orchestra, and local freelance music professionals and ministers. The daylong event included performances by ensembles from St. Paul Central High School, North Community High School, and David Milton McGee (1958-2011), then a student cellist from Mayo High School in Rochester, MN. Interspersed between these performances were sessions outlining college requirements at Twin Cities’ colleges and universities. Representatives from College of St. Catherine (Helen Bambenek), Lakewood Community College (John Zdechlik), and the University of Minnesota (Charles Byrne) served as presenters. BMETC member, Margaret LaFleur presented a session on Music in Careers. Author and educator Otis D. Simmons (1924-2015) of Alabama State University provided the keynote address. Archives do not provide further documentation of the event or of outcomes from the

students who attended the event.

Reginald T. Buckner related concerns derived from his attendance at the Southwestern and North Central divisional meetings of (MENC) held in the Spring of 1975. Entitled, "The Spirit of '76," Buckner's letter voiced his concerns concerning the invisibility of Black music educators as organizers clinicians or performers and the lack of repertoire by Black composers included in programs and reading sessions. Members concurred with Buckner's findings at the April 1976 BMETC meeting. Members shared that while their classes were used as observation models, they had never been asked to appear as panelists.

Because of this discussion, BMETC sent a letter of formal protest to MENC and a subcommittee of BMETC was created to advocate for the inclusion of Black music educators and compositions by composers of African descent in all future programming at local and national levels. The committee included Joseph Darby (Field Elementary), Tony Elliott (Associate Principal Cellist, Minnesota Orchestra), Luther Strickland (Macalester College), and Reginald Buckner (University of Minnesota). Following the lead of BMC who had begun collecting biographies of Black teachers to provide nominations for future position openings in MENC, BMETC began to collect its member's biographies that were presented as recommendations for posts within MMEA and MENC. They further began the process of recommending teachers and faculty as clinicians in specialty areas.

Reports on the "Go to College" workshop and the visit by Roger Dickerson were given at the May 8 meeting. Buckner had not completed his study of data from the day

but thanked BMETC members for their assistance and encouraged the group to consider scheduling another for 1977. Southall declared Roger Dickerson's visit. She felt his visit "cemented a professional relationship between the Afro-American Studies Dept. and the Music Dept. at the U. of Minnesota and created a desire for more people to know about him" (LaFleur, 1976). Dickerson would return in February 1977 for the performance of his work *Orpheus and His Slide Trombone*.

Due to his skills as a conductor and arranger, the positive response from U of M students and faculty, and BMETC's recommendation, O'Neill Sanford was hired and served at the U of M from May of 1976 until 1985. Sanford joined BMETC and provided yet another link between BMETC and the University of Minnesota. His membership in BMETC provided him with contacts to the public school systems in which its members taught. BMETC members were asked to forward names of potential members for recruitment to his bands. A community reception sponsored by the organization formally welcomed Sanford and his family to the Twin Cities. BMETC continued this practice of welcoming new Black musicians, composers, and teachers, and their families to the Twin Cities throughout its active years. Under the header, New Business, Southall summarized the past year of activities and encouraged BMETC to begin fundraising for scholarships. It was recommended the fundraising event occur in the form of a recital by BMETC members.

The June dinner meeting of BMETC occurred on June 16, 1976. Treasurer Cook reported the checking balance at \$40.68. A committee was formed to read an article by Gunther Schuller and to devise questions to be asked during an interview with Schuller

during his visit to the Twin Cities. The committee was comprised of Southall, LaFleur, Sanford, Jackson, Cook, Buckner, Thomas, and Johnson. Johnson reported on the North Central committee of MENC and expressed concerns regarding performances at regional conferences. The concerns were summed up in this way.

- Too much emphasis on jazz performance groups
- There was a need for more “process” oriented activities that would teach history, techniques, etc. of jazz
- Jazz bands presented at the conferences were little more than concert bands with a rhythm section
- No emphasis on improvisation

Johnson’ concluded MENC should be encouraged to be more selective of their performance groups and to place more emphasis on general music in education. Though the minutes identify a calendar of meetings, no minutes were found for the August, September, November or December meetings. The October 23 meeting included a progress report on the Dickerson concert, plans for a reception welcoming O’Neill Sanford and his family, and an update on a conversation with Mark Lammers MMEA President. Lammers stated MMEA was not in a position to fund a new position, which would address the concerns of music teachers and students of color. Johnson reminded him the discussion of a minority concerns representative had been ongoing for some time. After an unproductive meeting, Buckner recommended BMETC send a letter documenting the conversation. New Officers were elected and membership fees were increased from \$5.00 to \$10.00.

January 1977-May 1977.

Officers: W. Rayford Johnson, president. Reginal Buckner, vice president. Margaret LaFleur, secretary. Keith Cook, treasurer. C. Edward Thomas, chaplain, Sandy Jackson, historian. Geneva Southall, consultant. Luther Stripling, consultant.

Meeting minutes for January were not found in any archives. The February 12 meeting was brief. Following the treasurer's report an update of the Dickerson concert was given and dates and venues were discussed for the first fundraising concert. Membership dues were collected from some members and members who intended to attend the MENC convention were announced.

Johnson reported a lack of Black participants at the MENC convention at the April 16 meeting. Despite multiple conversations, he did not see any significant changes to the content and leadership of the conventions. The recital committee reported the date for the concert as May 1, 1977. At the time of the report, there were commitments from 17 artists. Johnson also reported on the ongoing pressure on Lammers to create a Minority Concern representative for the Minnesota branch of MENC. Johnson reminded Lammers of the guidelines from the 1976 convention in which this position was found. Lammers, again, stated there was no financial way to support the position then, to everyone's surprise approached Margaret LaFleur and appointed her to the position. She was told to be present at a 4:30 p.m. and a 7:00 a.m. meeting to represent Minnesota in that capacity. During this exchange between Lammers and LaFleur she discovered there had already been four meetings that year. Both Johnson and LaFleur were angered by the seeming subterfuge by Lammers. LaFleur decided not to accept the position given the

circumstances under which she was appointed. BMETC decided she should write a formal letter not accepting the position and Johnson would write a letter requesting a meeting to discuss how the issue was handled and to work toward a better working relationship.

It must be assumed due to the lack of documents, that work to clarify the earlier issues was successful since Margaret LaFleur was appointed and accepted the position of State Minority Awareness Officer for Minnesota in October. LaFleur credited her appointment to the tireless efforts of BMETC President W. Rayford Johnson with her remarks recorded in the minutes for October 29, 1977 meeting (LaFleur, 1977). Under LaFleur's leadership, BMETC members were involved in MMEA's Mid-Winter In-Service Clinic held in Minneapolis. Six music sessions in ethnic music were presented, and information tables for ethnic music, and AAMOA were available. Additionally, Lena McLin, African American composer, educator, and choral conductor was invited from Chicago to conduct a Jr. High vocal clinic. The relationship between BMETC, MENC, MMEA, and BMC is discussed further as a part of intellectual capital.

On May 1, 1977, the first Scholarship Fund Recital was held at Pilgrim Baptist Church (St. Paul, Minnesota). President Johnson introduced the recital with the following. This recital is presented to introduce the Black Music Educators in a light that most of them are seldom seen, that of performance. It is the intention of BMETC to continue this effort every year hereafter in order to assist (sic) the Twin Cities Community (sic) in the perpetuation and elevation of its (sic) youth (Johnson, 1977, p. 1).



Figure 4. Picture of performers from First Scholarship Recital

Front row: W. Rayford Johnson, Felix James, Keith Cook, Nita Cunningham Frank Wharton, Rosa Smith, and Lorraine Martin. Back row: Reginald Buckner, Shirley McClaine, Linda Parker, Doris Terry, Dexter Allgood, Rebecca Hall, Joseph Darby, Deborah Pitts, Geneva Southall, and Margaret LaFleur.

The concert was organized by the program committee which included Margaret B. LaFleur (chair), Keith Cook, Rebecca Hull (U of M), W. Rayford Johnson, and Deborah Pitts (U of M). In addition to works from the Western Art Music canon, pieces by Black composers Harry T. Burleigh (1866-1949), David N. Baker (1931-2016), and R. Nathaniel Dett (1882-1943) were included. (See Figure 4). The program booklet contained ads from local businesses and a list of BMETC members. Columnist “Little” Herbie noted,

I went to the program and found it the most appreciative performance of such tones in music and of a different segment that I'm used to. The crowd was not there, but those appreciative of the music came and showed a real love for the performance (Herbie, 1977).

This first concert did not raise enough funds to provide a scholarship, which was to be \$1,000. The ads only brought in \$114.00. Money donated amounted to only \$479.00. BMETC decided to wait until after the next annual concert in 1978 to begin seeking potential scholarship applicants. BMETC members voted to honor Doris Terry dinner. Terry was leaving Minnesota for Macon, Georgia.

January 1978-May 1978.

Officers: W. Rayford Johnson, president. Margaret LaFleur, secretary. Keith Cook, treasurer.

BMETC appears to have taken a hiatus during 1978. There were no documents found in the archives.

March 1979-June 1979.

Officers: W. Rayford Johnson, president. Reginald Buckner vice president. Margaret LaFleur, secretary. Linda Parker, treasurer.

A press release written by Geneva H. Southall, dated March 2, 1979 identified as a goal of BMETC serving as role models and being a supportive force to the many Black students involved in music at the elementary, junior and senior high school levels. She expressed concerns that Black music students in the varied school ensembles and those

taking private lessons were in need of more recognition and encouragement by members of the Black community (Southall, 1979c).

The Second Annual Scholarship Fund Recital was held on June 15, 1979, at Pilgrim Baptist Church in St. Paul. O'Neill Sanford directed a group of African-American high school and college musicians performing his compositions. Special guest, Robin Berry, who had been awarded the 1976 Omega Psi Phi Talent Hunt Scholarship, was also featured. A scholarship was not awarded in 1979. In between organizing the two scholarship concerts BMETC members supported the visit of Black composer, and conductor Roger Dickerson whose composition, *Orpheus and his Slide Trombone* was performed by the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra.

October, 1980-December, 1980.

Officers: Reginald Buckner, president. Margaret LaFleur, vice president. Linda Parker secretary/treasurer. C. Edward Thomas, chaplain.

The first \$1,000 scholarship was awarded in 1980 to pianist Zara Turner, a graduate of Regina High School in Minneapolis. Turner was one of 11 students who performed in a scholarship recital at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts on June 19, 1980. Zara was accepted to Oberlin Conservatory. Geneva Southall funded an additional scholarship, the Geneva H. Southall Award. This additional scholarship was awarded to harpist Holly Berry. Three University of Minnesota faculty members served as judges for the event. These faculty members included Arnold Caswell, Paul Freed, and O'Neill Sanford.

The second "Go to College Workshop" for Black Music students occurred on

October 18, 1980. The workshop was held in Scott Hall at the University of Minnesota from 8:30 a.m. to noon and included musical performances by BMETC members, Linda Parker, Nita Cunningham, and Zara Turner. Ten-minute information sessions presented the following topics including auditions, admissions policies scholarships and BMETC as an organization. The program closed with remarks by Reginald Buckner. BMETC sponsored a reception for all attendees. An invitation to participate in BMETC activities included a calendar of 1980-1981 events and an abbreviated constitution.

BMETC members appeared on the television show *Harambee* (WTCN TV, Channel 11) on November 9, 1980. This was the second of two appearances. Discussed during this appearance were issues of concern to Black music students and teachers. Members of BMETC participated with the senior choir of Zion Baptist Church (Minneapolis) in a performance featuring guest soloist, William Warfield. The concert was held at Hennepin United Methodist Church (Minneapolis) on December 14, 1980.

January 1981-December 1981

Officers: Reginald Buckner, president. Margaret LaFleur, secretary. Linda Parker, treasurer. C. Edward Thomas, chaplain.

BMETC members helped to organize and co-sponsor a concert with the Saint Paul Chamber Orchestra. The concert, part of the 1981 Winter Carnival was conducted by associate conductor, William McGlaughlin. The concert was billed as a Benefit and Scholarship Concert. Held at St. Paul Central high schools, the benefit was successful. St. Paul Mayor George Latimer proclaimed January 31, 1981 as *Black Music Educators, Twin Cities Day*.

Following an application and a successful performance, Sanford Moore became the second recipient of the 1981 BMETC tuition scholarship (January, 1981). Moore was accepted to the University of Minnesota and later became a valued employee of the University directing the very successful Gospel Choir for many years. He is also the founder and director of the award-winning Jazz vocal group, *Moore by Four*.

On June 18 youth members of BMETC presented a concert at the Pillsbury Auditorium of the Minneapolis Institute of the Arts (Minneapolis). Ten students from the high school the college level performed works from genres representing Western Art music and African American music. A review of the concert entitled, “Young Musicians offer the Fruits of their Work” by Little Herbie summed up the concert in this way. “Hearing those young people perform in such a professional manner was one of the finest experiences this critic has ever had” (Herbie, 1981).

BMETC as a Chapter of NANM 1982-1994.

January 1982-December 1982.

Officers: Reginald Buckner, president. Margaret LaFleur, vice president. Velma Warder, secretary. Linda Parker, treasurer. C. Edward Thomas, chaplain.

No minutes were found for January 1982. A concert and reception was held in February of 1982 to honor the families of BMETC’s youth members. Adult members Sandra Harvey (organ), Frank Wharton (bass flute), Linda Parker (flute), Nita Cunningham (flute), Michael Mazyck (saxophone), Lorraine Martin (piano), Diana Washington (English horn), Frank Gaymon (voice), and a vocal ensemble of adult members directed by C. Edward Thomas performed at the event. Accompanists for

evening included Velma Warder, Geneva Southall, Judy Henderson, and Reginald Buckner. Charlotte Johnson and Sandy Jackson-Edwards served as the evening's hostesses. Selected students from area public schools were also invited to the concert. Southall provided a brief history of BMETC.

BMETC applied and was accepted as a chapter of the National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM) at the 63rd Convention in Chicago. Their charter certificate was dated August 13, 1982. As a chapter of NANM, BMETC students had additional opportunities for scholarships and a national stage on which to perform. Through their attendance at NANM conventions, students received additional training and mentoring from nationally acclaimed conductors and coaches. BMETC's adult members were able to direct choirs and instrumental groups made up of students from across the country. It also provided opportunities to form relationships with musicians, composers and educators from across the country. BMETC president Buckner notes the milestone in a letter inviting students to join youth or young adult branches.

The Black Music Educators, Twin Cities, (BMETC) announced their acceptance as a member branch of the National Association of Negro Musicians, Inc. at the year's 63rd convention in Chicago. This means that we can now carry out one of our long-desired goals, that of making possible an affiliation with a national Black music group that has a proven historic track-record of fostering and developing the musical talents of Black youth (Buckner, 1982, p. 1).

Adult member Frank Wharton and youth members Kevelyn McKinney and Jay King, III presented a report of their attendance at the convention at the September 20 meeting. The

youth were particularly impressed to discover the existence of a large number of Black musicians of Western Art music. Wharton expressed feeling energized by the closing concert. Dr. Southall paid transportation and convention entrance fees for McKinney and King. In addition to the report, new officers were elected at this meeting. Additional business discussed at the meeting included the financial requirements of being a NANM chapter. BMETC was assessed \$200.00 to be a chapter of NANM. Additionally, BMETC was required to have 60 % of its members as members of NANM. This meant an additional \$20.00 membership fee to NANM. Youth were individually assessed a \$5.00 membership fee. BMETC's Junior. Members were assessed a \$2.00 fee. Youth were also required to have monthly meetings as a part of NANM. Wharton, having been elected Youth Director, announced the first youth meeting as scheduled for October 3, 1982.

Members addressed the addition of the performance of the opera *Porgy and Bess* to the Minnesota Opera concert season. The Gershwin estate has a rental rider requiring African American singers for the opera. While this rider exists, another opera company had requested and received a waiver. As the MN Opera had not been known to hire local African American vocalists, BMETC members feared were they would mount the opera without the required African American performers. BMETC began by contacting Phillip Brunelle, then music director for the company. Receiving no response to the August letter, those at the September meeting voted to send another letter, this time, by registered mail. State Representative Randolph W. Staten applauded the actions of the BMETC with regard to MN Opera. "I would like to take this time to commend you on the actions you have taken with regard to the Minnesota Opera Company I also commend

your effort to continue to show the achievement and necessity of progress of Black in the music and the arts” (Staten, 1982). The meeting ended with a “farewell serenade” by Diana Washington on oboe. The farewell was due to Ms. Washington’s move to New York to continue work on her Ph.D.

Dr. Buckner opened the October 17, 1982 meeting by inviting the group to pray the “Lord’s Prayer” together. Following announcements of events in member’s lives and that of their children, BMETC members discussed the upcoming MMEA Mid-Winter Clinic, the 1983 NANM Convention in New York, and a motion filed by Southall in absentia to accept Lloyd Winfield as the 1982 BMETC Tuition Scholarship winner. The motion did not pass. It was discovered Winfield had not applied for the scholarship. The discussion that ensued included asking about whether a new committee should be formed to make recommendations of the new scholarship recipient, or whether the previous year’s committee should be reactivated. It was moved and seconded that the previous committee would be reactivated and would recruit candidates to apply for the scholarship. President, Reginald Buckner appointed Charlotte Johnson (Phillips Jr. High), Nita Cunningham (St. Paul Central), and Frank Gayman (Burnsville Sr. High) to serve.

The group re-visited the discussion of the Minnesota Opera since there had been no response to the registered letter. The group noticed *Porgy and Bess* was removed from the schedule and assumed MN Opera canceled its performance. President Buckner was asked to follow-up with Brunelle via a phone call. The Youth group reported 8 of the 20 invited students attended the meeting. Kevelyn McKinney and Jay King were elected president and secretary pro tem of the youth division. Since NANM requires ten students

as the minimum for a youth chapter, discussion included recruitment efforts. Following the formal portion of the adult chapter meeting, Dr. Buckner shared pictures, anecdotes, and impressions of his recent visit to Salzburg, Austria, to attend the International Jazz Workshop. His report while primarily positive, mentioned sadness that the workshop leader with whom he was most excited to study had canceled and did not attend.

Susan McClary of the University of Minnesota presented her paper, “A Philosophy of Music Education for the 1980s” at the meeting held on November 21, 1982. Her presentation is summarized in that meeting’s minutes. An excerpt is included.

Some reasons for the present state of music is a powerful articulator of cultural values, but the education process is designed to alienate the talented child that it seems to extinguish love of music that motivated the student in the first place.

Some reasons she gives for the “present state of affairs” of music include the concentration on European music as the “ideal,” dealing with music as a classical tradition, reliance on notation, approach with a method not to interpret, but to play flawlessly, influence of large performing ensembles (i.e. symphony orchestra) where members play and do not interpret (Warder, 1982, p. 3).

Old Business for the November meeting included the receipt of an additional application for the 1982 BMETC Tuition Scholarship. The committee decided to review application and to make a recommendation to the body at the December meeting. Partial closure was brought to bear upon the MN Opera’s performance of *Porgy and Bess*. Buckner received word from Phillip Brunelle who explained his lack response as being related to his being out of town and having curtailed his work with the MN Opera.

Brunelle gave Buckner names of others who might be contacted. Buckner solicited support from the group to contact these referred names which included Charles Fullmer and Judson Bemis. The new letter to the MN Opera focused on the absence of Black singers within the MN Opera. Archives sets do not provide closure to this issue.

On December 7, 1982, BMETC adult and youth members, as well as special guests, were treated to a holiday dinner and program hosted by Southall. The dinner was prepared by Dr. Willa Grant Battle's restaurant staff and served at the Willa Grant Battle Community Center. Special guests included community members, parents of some youth members, and Patricia Turner, former U of M student and chairperson of the NANM Sight and Sound Committee. Turner provided a lecture supported by slides and audio examples entitled, *Marian Anderson: The Lady and Her Music*.

January 1983-May 1983.

Officers: Reginald Buckner, president. Margaret LaFleur, vice president. Velma Warder, secretary. Virginia Russell, treasurer. C. Edward Thomas, chaplain.

The special guest for January 16, 1983, meeting was James T. Murray. Murray toured Europe as a part of the cast of *Porgy and Bess*. Related were "behind the scenes" anecdotes. A St. Paulite, Murray studied at Central High School and MacPhail in Minneapolis. The conclusions from his career include "Mutual respect for people in the entertainment field and being at the right place at the right time." His remarks conclude with the encouragement "Don't give up and have the motivation and desire" (Warder, 1983, p. 3). Geneva Southall, Elise Lyle, James Murray, Margaret LaFleur, and Judy Henderson are pictured Figure 5.



Figure 5. James T. Murray at BMETC

Old Business for the January meeting included continued discussion of the 1983 *Tuition Scholarship*. While Winfield was nominated, he did not have an application on file. The committee agreed to send him one and to approve him as the award recipient since research revealed the percussionist applicant was no longer in school. The membership empowered the reactivated scholarship committee to develop formal guidelines for maintaining and terminating scholarship awards. As a part of the new business, BMETC member Sandra Jackson-Edwards reported her experiences of verbal abuse and hostility from the principal, staff, and students of Webster Open School (Minneapolis). Having been asked to leave her position, Jackson-Edwards was facing a hearing on February 25. BMETC agreed to send a letter of support. None of the archives reported a conclusion of this action. It is noted in later minutes, a change of school assignment for Jackson-Edwards to Olson and at another point to Lincoln.

The next scholarship fundraiser recital was held on Sunday, April 10, 1983, at James A.M.E. Southall was joined by Mark Bjork (U of M) violin, Jacqueline Ultan (U

of M) cello, William Jones (GTCYS) bassoon, and Frank Wharton (BMETC) on flute.

Works by African American composers Thomas Wiggins Bethune (1849-1908), R.

Nathaniel Dett, and Margaret Bonds (1913-1972) were performed. BMETC members set a goal of \$5,000 for the fundraiser. They did not meet this goal. The April 17 financial report lists \$245.00 as concert patronage and a deposit of \$2, 134. It is unclear from the treasurer's report if any of the deposit included receipts from the concert. The concert was advertised in the Twin Cities Courier under the title, "Concert Ultimately Benefits Budding Black Musicians" ("News Article, 'Concert ultimately benefits budding Black musicians' 17 April 1983, Box 3, Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities, Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities: An Inventory of Their Records, MNHS, St. Paul, MN," 1983).

BMETC entered into a co-sponsorship with Zion Baptist Church to present the Barrett Sisters of Chicago, Illinois in a concert. It was decided that proceeds above the costs of the concert from the April 30, 1983, concert at Wesley United Methodist Church would be divided between the two organizations. Unfortunately, the costs outpaced contributions, and in the end, neither Zion Baptist Church nor BMETC earned any money. The guest speaker for the April meeting was Kenneth Robinson who presented a history of the Twin Cities musical group, the *Cantorians (1954-1979)*. Robinson was a member of the group and became its director in 1958, an office he held until the last concert in 1979.

A May report from the nominating committee offered a slate of officers for the 1983-4 fiscal year. The report also included newly proposed Bylaws. New articles

included Article III that formalized the slate of officers to include a parliamentarian.

Article VI set terms of officers at one year with the possibility of being re-elected up to 4 years. Article VII standardized secret ballot voting. In November 1983, BMETC instituted a new practice. Officers were inducted at a *Service of Dedication and Installation*. The litany included excerpts from the Bible and other language found in church installation services. It was written by Margaret B. LaFleur. Figure 6 is a photo of the installation of Ronald Brown as president. Pictured left to right are Margaret LaFleur, Geneva Southall, Ronald Brown, and Sharon Buckner



Figure 6. Service of Dedication and Installation 1983

Meeting minutes dated June 22, noted Geneva Southall's expenses for the concert which included \$1,150 to pay musicians, \$50.00 for church rental, \$30.00 to tune the

church's piano, and \$21.00 for postage and stationary. The \$2,134 deposit, patronage, and Southall's contribution totaled \$3,630, only 73 % of the original goal.

February 1984-December 1984.

Officers: Margaret LaFleur, president. C. Edward Thomas, vice president. Nita Cunningham, secretary. Virginia Russell, treasurer. Judy Henderson, chaplain.

No minutes or agenda were found for a January, 1984 meeting. On February 24, 1984, BMETC presented a concert at Carleton College in Northfield, MN as part of Carleton's celebration of Black History Month. The concert featured compositions by European and African American composers. BMETC hosted the Central Regional NANM Convention achieving another milestone. With the theme "Pride in a Cultural Heritage," the convention sponsored business meetings and workshops presented by Robert Lucas, Michael Mazyck, and Margaret LaFleur. News of the Central Regional Conference April 27-8, 1984, in Minneapolis was posted in the Chicago Crusader. Southall applauded this in a memo to BMETC members. "We are now 'in the national' limelight" (Southall, 1984a). As expected BMETC members participated as clinicians, participants, and performers. The Regional Branch increased individual branch assessments from \$25.00 to \$50.00. Holly Berry, flutist, represented BMETC in the Regional Instrumental Competition winning first place. This win enabled Holly to participate at the National Convention held in Las Vegas, Nevada.

In May 1984, BMETC sponsored a solo concert by baritone, Donnie Ray Albert (b. 1950) at Westminster Presbyterian Church (Minneapolis). This performance was hoped to fund scholarships. From the letter dated June 11, 1984, from Albert accompanist

Earl Buys, one can gather the concert though musically a success was not one financially.

“I hold this organization in the highest esteem and I hope this financial disappointment is not overwhelmingly discouraging” (Buys, 1984). Fundraising activities included a series of Chamber Concerts held in private homes. The archives presented four such concerts. Each concert presented BMETC adults, youth, and children performing works from the genres of Art music, Folk, Jazz, Gospel, and Pop.

BMETC’s fundraising attempts were not altogether financially successful. A terse letter from Dr. Southall to Virginia Russell, BMETC treasurer confirms.

Because of the “fiasco in the fund raising (sic),” I have picked up the monies needed to make possible Holly’s being part of the youth activities at this year’s NANM, hopefully after she has won the national. This was agreed to, and should still be done. Otherwise, the entire objectives of the organization have not been met as per youth-focused. Need I add, that the members must this year refocus and make the needed objectives to what BMETC is about – otherwise I will have to “give it up” since it is not fair after ten years to keep this type of financial strain going (Southall, 1984b).

BMETC President Margaret LaFleur also discussed the year's fundraising activities in a memo dated July 17, 1984.

There are some areas of concern that must be addressed, and I would like to bring them up now: The Donny (sic) Ray Albert Concert. Very detailed and well executed plans were made for the concert and all went well except that we did not reach our financial goals because there were not enough tickets sold by Daytons

nor BMETC members. Therefore, we need a contribution from each member from \$25-\$100 and more if you can afford it. I invite you to contribute as never before to this scholarship for Kevelyn McKinney (LaFleur, 1984, p. 1).

Additional fundraising activities included BMETC ballpoint pens. Each member was asked to sell at least ten at \$1.00 each. Cellist, Kevelyn McKinney was awarded the 1984 tuition scholarship. She enrolled at Freed-Hardeman College in Henderson, Tennessee. Kevelyn was a former president of the BMETC youth branch.

An additional milestone for BMETC in 1984 was the first organizational retreat held at Wilder Forest in St. Paul (September 21-2). The goal of the retreat was to plan, organize and develop the goals and objectives of the upcoming year. In addition to business meetings, members participated in a “jam session,” and nominated officer, and members to serve on subcommittees. Outcomes of the retreat include increasing the membership fee to \$30.00 to include membership in NANM. Additional outcomes of the retreat were outlines in BMETC’s report to Dr. Charles Canon, NANM’s Central Region director. The 1984-5 goals were reported to include the following.

- Establish and develop a junior chapter and program
- Develop a system of fundraising in the community for the purpose of provided a scholarship to a worthy candidate who fulfills the guideline requirements of the organization
- To devise ways of securing funding for the purpose of providing a specific music education of Black composers for our youth and junior divisions
- To consistently provide musical opportunities for performance of music

by Black composers by members of the organizations

- To maintain and uphold the objectives of the constitution of NANM (LaFleur, 1984).

Margaret LaFleur, Frank Wharton, Nita Cunningham, and Virginia Russell were elected to the offices of president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer respectively at the October 21, 1984 meeting. A committee was organized to plan BMETC's 10-year anniversary event. The committee was co-led by LaFleur and Buckner. Figure 7 is the logo developed and presented by Louis Wilson. The meeting minutes reported Dr. Buckner had been appointed to serve on the MENC board.



Figure 7. BMETC Logo

Minutes of the December 9, 1984 meeting at the home of Margaret LaFleur was opened with prayer and a meditation by LaFleur. Youth members, Jalana and Jamila LaFleur performed two pieces on the piano. The president reported \$150.00 were raised at the last chamber music concert of which \$25.00 was from Dr. Southall. The next concert was scheduled for January 3, 1985 at the home of Reginald Buckner. Mary Easter

reported on the newly formed Minnesota Choreographers Alliance (MCA). Haffner reported on the upcoming MMEA Clinic to be held on February 15-6. BMETC members were scheduled to present three workshops. Yvonne Cheek presented *Creative Movement for Children*, Hestia Abeyesekera presented *Basic Music Education on Keyboard*, and Susan Williams presented *Multicultural Resources (Music) for Special Education*.

January 1985-November 1985.

Officers: Margaret LaFleur, president. Robert Lucas, vice president. Mary Easter, secretary. Virginia Russell, treasurer. Nita Cunningham, chaplain. Geneva Southall, historian. Charles Breese, Parliamentarian.

No agenda or minutes were found for a January, 1985 meeting. The Buckners, Reginald and his wife Sharon hosted the January 13 meeting. Judy Henderson reported a concert of members of the new youth division was planned for January 26. Teachers were reminded of and encouraged to participate in the upcoming convention of MMEA (Feb. 21-3). Members were encouraged by Charles Breese to serve on the Council on Equal Opportunity in the Arts. Yvonne Cheek reported her committee was submitting a grant to the St. Paul Foundation/Minority Student Education Project, whose deadline was January 18, 1985. Cheek noted this was the last year the grant was being offered.

The guest speaker for the meeting was Pete Rhodes, president of Pete Rhodes and Associated Entertainment Company. Rhodes was also the founder of the Minnesota Black Music Awards. The purpose of the entertainment company was to recognize local musicians. While he had hoped to contribute funding to scholarships for students, the company has not been financially successful. Rhodes was seeking BMETC's support of

the Minnesota Black Music Awards. The name of the event was changed to the Black Entertainers and Artists Awards. The event, held at the Orpheum Theater (Minneapolis) was scheduled for June 1st or 29th.

The meeting ended with Dr. Southall's NANM report. Dr. Southall presented a report on the meeting of the NANM board with updated concerns about upcoming conventions. Additionally, she related financial issues occurring with NANM because of "bounced checks" from chapters. Southall also announced her new position with NANM as Director of Research on Black composers. The meeting minutes ended with a list of members in attendance.

Mary Easter (Carleton College) led the February 17, 1985 meeting. Judy Henderson, organizational chaplain, led the group in prayers. As part of the first order of business, those assembled, reviewed the by-laws of NANM and BMETC leading to a set of blended by-laws for BMETC. It was decided, the new bylaws would be mailed to all members. Members were requested to be ready to vote on the revisions at the next meeting. Twenty-one children were reported to have been present at the January 26 concert held at Pilgrim Baptist Church. The ages of the children ranged from five to 13 years old. The meeting included performances of genres ranging from "Gavottes to jazz." (p. 1) Dr. Buckner reported his research identifying BMETC as the only Black educator's group in Minnesota.

Mary Easter reported a *Choreographers Evening* was scheduled for July 17, 1985. This event was co-sponsored by the Metropolitan Inter-Country Association (MICA) and would be led in the small theater of the Ordway (St. Paul). It was also reported that

Kevelyn McKinney transferred to Jackson State University (Mississippi). Velma Warder presented a report of the Program Committee, which organized several Chamber concerts in private homes. The financial goal of each concert was set at \$500.00.

Neville Marriner (1924-2016), then conductor of the Minnesota Orchestra planned a concert of compositions by British composers in February 1985. Dr. Southall wrote to conductor Neville Mariner asking if the African-British composer Samuel Coleridge-Taylor was being included. Southall included a repertoire list. The reply from Marriner dated February 18, expressed embarrassment and a commitment to include works of Coleridge-Taylor in future concerts.

Thank you for your letter and enclosed information on Samuel Coleridge-Taylor.

I agree he is worthy of inclusion in the British Festival, and I'm embarrassed that I did not think of him in time to include a work on our main orchestral concerts (Marriner, 1985).

The chamber concerts asked concert hosts to bear expenses related to hosting the concert in their home, which might include refreshments and chair rental and to be responsible for inviting guests. Hosts were thanked for furthering the goals of BMETC by providing their homes for the events.

The March 17 meeting was held at the home of Margaret LaFleur. The meeting opened with devotions and the group singing *Lift Every Voice and Sing*. Following announcements and the acceptance of past meeting minutes, during the president's report concerns were raised regarding the lack of attendance at MMEA sessions presented by BMETC members. This was due to those sessions not being integrated within their

respective disciplines. This minutes do not highlight responses or actions taken regarding this issue.

Warder reported the Dakota County Society of Black women would host the fourth chamber concert at the home of BMETC members Faye and Donald Washington. It was also reported a previous concert had earned \$365.00. A grant application was reported to have been submitted to COMPAS. Judy Henderson reported 60 students attended the February 23 youth division concert held at Pilgrim Baptist church (St. Paul). Southall announced a presentation of Black women composers that were offered as part of the 1986 MMEA convention. The meeting ended with a reading by Mary Easter of her original poem, "Wilder Forest."

Minutes were not found for the April 21, 1985 meeting. Items found in the agenda include updates from the program, development, and nominations sub-committees, treasurer and president, and the youth division. The thought for the month was "Never question your fundamental worth and adequacy as a human being." New Business was to include reports from the NANM Regional meeting and a time of sharing. The agenda ends with a schedule of future meetings and directions to host Frank Wharton's home. During April, 1985 BMETC was awarded a Community Service Award by the Voluntary Action Center (VAC) of the St. Paul area.

In May 1985, BMETC was awarded a \$3,000 scholarship from COMPAS, Inc. These funds were used to support the 1985 Black Choreographers Evening held March 14, 1985. No meeting minutes were found for the May 19, 1985 meeting held at Dr. Southall's home. The thought for the month was, "Music is a science, music is

mathematical, music is a foreign language, music is history, music is physical education, music is all of these things, but most of all, music is art” (May 19, 1985). In addition to the reports of last month Mary Haffner, Multicultural Awareness Chairperson of MMEA was invited to give a report. Composer, Undine Moore (1904-1989) was the scheduled guest presenter at the June 1985 meeting held at the home of Mary Easter in Northfield, MN. Moore was the mother of Mary Easter. Her presentation was untitled. Louis Wilson performed a saxophone solo as part of the meeting and Judy Henderson offered the meditation. At the top of the agenda is an annotation identifying this meeting as the last official meeting until the fall.

Members of the youth branch presented a concert at St. James A.M.E. on Sunday, August 4, 1985. Two members of the newly organized junior branch were chosen to perform on this concert. A letter dated July 29, 1985 announced BMETC was awarded a \$25,000 grant from the St. Paul Foundation. The program funded by the grant was “Music Power.” The *Music Power* program proposed to provide private lessons to Black music students in Ramsey, Dakota, Washington, and Hennepin counties. In addition to private lessons, students and their parents would be offered seminars on a variety of music topics, master classes, and field trips to local musical events.

The second fall retreat was held September 20-21, 1985. It included business meetings, brainstorming the 1985 calendar, chamber music series, and discussion of a new program, *Music Power*. Henderson’s November report on the *Music Power* program included the following points.

- The goal of the program is to provide private musical study

- 38 students and their parents attended an information meeting. (Nov. 12)
- Guidelines and expectations were sent to interested families
- Matching of students and teachers in process
- Lessons to begin within two weeks
- Classes on the Music of Black Americans was presented at Central High School
- Guest lecturers include Murray, Baby Doo Leonard, Easter
- An additional mentorship program was organized
- Participating students would be provided opportunities to attend musical events

The *Music Power* project master lists indicate 53 youth, 43 children, and 6 mentor/mentee pairings. This program will be discussed further as a part of BMETC's legacy in Chapter 5. The October and November meetings only had agendas. The agendas reference reports from committees and officers. Additionally, the upcoming NANM convention was included as an item of discussion.

The 1985 concert, *Musical Extravaganza* was held at St. James A.M.E. The program featured performances by members of the BMETC adult, youth and junior branches. In addition to compositions by European composers, compositions by composers of African descent included Cliff Alexis, Lawrence Brown, Florence Price, R. Nathaniel Dett, Wendell Whalum, Noel da Costa, Patrick Davis, Prince Rogers Nelson, and Billy Preston. An invocation was given by Rev. Thomas H. Van Leer and closing remarks were by BMETC member and youth branch director, Frank Wharton. The

program included names of officers, Reginald Buckner (president), Robert Lucas (secretary), Mary Easter (secretary), Virginia Russell (treasurer), Charles Breese (parliamentarian), and Geneva Southall (historian), and committee chairs.

January 1986-October 1986.

Officers: Reginald Buckner, president. Robert Lucas, vice president. Virginia Russell, treasurer. Geneva Southall, historian. Charles Breese, Parliamentarian.

There were not meeting minutes found for January through March of 1986. The Pianist, Leon Bates was presented in concert at Concordia College on March 1, 1986. His performance was co-sponsored by funds from Community Programs in the Arts (COMPAS). He also provided a master class at the University of Minnesota. Ron Brown and Dr. Lloyd Ultan from the School of Music at the University of Minnesota were guests at the meeting held on April 20, 1986. After a sharing of announcements and the treasurer's report, condolences were given for Mary Haffner who had recently lost her brother.

It was announced that Marvin Mechelke, piano student of Paul Freed and participant in the master class directed by Leon Bates had just won a major piano competition. Reports were recorded from the Youth division, Music Power project and the program committee. It was further reported that Frank Wharton had received a recognition award at the NANM Central Regional conference. Wharton performed pieces from *The Rite of Spring* by Hubert Laws and David Sebesky as the musical presentation. Ultan's presentation was about his philosophies concerning music education which was in part from his article "Music in Our Schools: A Questions of Values" which had been

presented to the National Association of the Society of Music. While there were not meeting minutes for the rest of the summer, it may be assumed planning meetings for the musical banquet continued. This is confirmed by handwritten documents dated July 7, 1986 and the purchase of an advertisement in August from the Spokesman.

Ron Brown, Southall, LaFleur, Buckner, and a number of students attended the 67th Annual NANM Convention in Chicago, Illinois August 3-8, 1987. The theme of the convention was "Fulfilling A Commitment." Main sessions were opened with invocations, devotions, and the singing of hymns. Southall reported on her research of Black composers and Buckner served as a clinician Frank Wharton was listed in the program as the assistant director of the Central Region.

The *First Musical Banquet* was held on Friday, October 3, 1986. The special guest for this event was Dr. William Warfield (1920-2002). Warfield, the current president of NANM, was also distinguished by his acclaimed performances in Jerome Kern's *Showboat* and George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess*. His narration in Aaron Copland's *A Lincoln Portrait* won him a Grammy Award in 1984. The banquet was billed as a scholarship fundraiser. BMETC members were asked to sell a minimum of 5 tickets at \$25.00 each. Buckner's letter identifies only 15 active members.

January 1987-December 1987.

Officers: Reginald Buckner, president. Ronald Brown, vice president. Geneva Southall, secretary. Louis Wilson, treasurer. Oliver White and Carl Walker, co-chaplain. Geneva Southall, historian. Charles Breese, Parliamentarian.

No meeting minutes were found for January through April. Frank Wharton's

home in Woodbury, MN was the site of the May 17 meeting. Following prayer by Rev. Oliver White and the singing of “Lift Every Voice and Sing,” vice president Ron Brown opened the meeting. Yvonne Cheek sent a report to the meeting of BMETC about having received a grant from the Pillsbury Foundation for \$2,500, and \$25,000 from the Minneapolis Foundation for the *Music Power* project.

Updates on the activities of former BMETC youth members included the following. Clara Carter was featured in an article for her activism at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. Melonie Poe received additional scholarships and would attend Howard University as a Pre-Med and Music minor (Washington, D. C.). Frank Wharton received the Spurgeon Award from the Boys Scouts of America. It was announced BMETC would host the 1989 NANM regional convention. The meeting ended with a special guest presentation. Rev. Oliver White (Camphor United Methodist Church) shared his experiences working with Aretha Franklin and James Cleveland. White told stories and provided anecdotes from his childhood, his service in the Air Force, to his current career.

The June 1987 meeting was advertised as a family get-together. Performances, a jazz jam, and a choral sing followed the business meeting. During the business meeting, members voted to provide scholarship funds to Melonie Poe and Jeff Allen in the amounts of \$600.00 and \$400.00, respectively. Margaret LaFleur reported on the creation of a BMETC banner for the summer NANM convention. Robert Lucas sent a thank you for the present BMETC sent to honor the birth of his child.

Dr. Southall writes a letter to Brown and LaFleur, dated September 15, 1987 in

which she encourages the group to get back together. She purchased at table for 10 youth at the October 2nd banquet and congratulated heads of the co-directors of the youth and junior divisions for working with Judy Henderson and Yvonne Cheek in the administration of grants received for the Music Power project. The *Scholarship Fundraiser and Second Music Banquet* was held at the Minneapolis Hyatt Regency Hotel. Dr. William Warfield, national president of NANM was present. Brazeal W. Dennard (1929-2010), composer, conductor of the Brazeal Dennard Chorale, and supervisor of the Detroit Public Schools, was featured as the guest speaker. Members of the youth, junior, and adult divisions performed musical selections. Velma Warder was honored with a member award and John Doyle received a non-member award. The banquet financial report, dated December 28, 1987, reported \$4,230.00 received from ticket purchases. After expenses, the banquet earned \$831.10

January 1988-December 1988.

Officers: Reginald Buckner, president. Ronald Brown, vice president. Geneva Southall, secretary. Louis Wilson, treasurer. Geneva Southall, historian.

There were no minutes found for most of 1988. St. Thomas Episcopal Church was the site of the June 13, 1988 meeting. Following a musical presentation by Kai Russell, senior at North high school and announcements, the treasurer Louis Wilson reported everything was in order for filing of taxes. Jean Ann Durades (program committee) reported due to concerns regarding the lack of business meetings, the committee would be attempting to schedule more meetings. Also discussed was the fact that activities now outnumbered organizational meetings.

Aura Tovar, U of MN Music Therapy Major announced she was moving to Philadelphia and the group wished her well. The Scholarship committee discussed the financial failure of the '87 banquet. Instead of raising funds, it lost \$200.00. Upon recommendation of the committee Angie Robinson was chosen as the 1987 scholarship recipient. New members, Donald (Washburn High School, Minneapolis) and Faye Washington (Folwell, Minneapolis) shared information regarding their first year in the Minneapolis public school system. Faye Washington shared her negative experience with an audition for the Dale Warland Singers. Her voice was determined to be "too big for the sound they wanted" ("Minutes, 13 June 1988, Box 1, Folder, 1988-9. MLF, St. Paul, MN," 1988, p. 2). She had also auditioned and received a call back with Minnesota Opera.

The Junior Division presented a spring recital at the Landmark Center in St. Paul on June 12, 1988. Twenty students representing BMETC's junior division and participants in the *Music Power Project* performed works by European and African American composers, and a selection by BMETC member Hestia Abeyeskera. In addition, 18 teachers providing private lessons participated.

Youth, Junior, and Adult members distinguished themselves at the 1988 NANM National Conference winning the second place award in a banner competition. A banner (See Figure 8), T-shirts, and a rap were designed by BMETC. The rap is presented here.

Twin are champions so are we
We're 'gonna win this contest just wait and see
We're 'gonna take the prize home not you but we

‘Cause there ‘ain’t no losing, we’re BMETC
We accepted this lovely invitation
We came just because we’re the best in the nation
B for Bad
M for Musicians
E for emotion ‘cause we got enough attention
C no competition
That’ why we’re the best
In the NANM Convention.



Figure 8. BMETC Banner

A new ensemble made up of BMETC members called the *Women of Class* was formed in 1988. Membership included Southall, piano, Faye Washington, flute, and

Diane Washington, oboe (See Figure 9). Their debut performance was at the October 16, 1988, meeting. COMPAS funded two composer concerts. Planning began for the “Birthday Roast Reginald Buckner” for the occasion of his 50th birthday. Yvonne Cheek reported receiving \$2,000 for a concert series honoring Black composers from COMPAS. The meeting was held at the Walker-West Academy in St. Paul. Treasurer, Louis Wilson, reported a balance of \$593.46 of which \$500.00 was committed to Angie Robertson.

The guest speaker for the evening was Mel Coleman, a local psychologist. He discussed his recently published book “Black Psychology.” In addition to his work as a psychologist, Coleman was a composer. He discussed his latest work, *Piano Concerto No.1 in C Major: Florence Meets Africa, A Jazz Concert*, which was completed summer, 1988. The meeting ended with a reception hosted by Marvaleen Atlas and Margaret LaFleur. The November 20 agenda included a mediation, announcements, and reports. Most of the meeting was spent discussing and planning the musical banquet. Minutes were not found for this meeting.

The *Scholarship Fundraiser* and *Third Musical Banquet*, subtitled, “Roasting Reginald” was held at the Minneapolis Hyatt Regency Hotel on December 2, 1988. Sadly, Buckner had recently suffered from an illness that required a heart bypass and was only recently home. He was in wonderful spirits, though and even joked with the researcher about hiding from his doctor who told him to stay in bed and rest. The concert featured performances by BMETC adult and youth performers. A panel of “roasters” included members of the University of Minnesota, Southwest (Mpls.) and Central High (St Paul) schools, the MN Department of Education, KARE-TV, and from local

businesses. Awards were given to honorees Elise Lyle (Member Award), Tom Tipton (Community Award), and W. Rayford Johnson (Special Recognition Award). Buckner's composition, *God So Loved the World* was performed by soprano, Faye Washington who was accompanied by Velma Warder on piano.

Yolanda Y. Williams had her first close contact with BMETC when awarded an emergency grant funded by member donations in 1988. Because I was not a member of BMETC and had not participated in any of the competitions, funds were not available to me from BMETC, proper. A separate fund designated the Yolanda Williams Fund was discussed and approved by vote. "Many who knew of Yolande (sic) gave her a vote of confidence" ("Minutes, 16 October 1988, Box 1, Folder 1988-9, MLF, St. Paul, MN," 1988, p. 3). Williams was awarded \$400.00. Guest speaker Mel Coleman a psychologist, author, composer, and musician presented his work Piano Concerto No.1 in C Major: Florence Meets African: A Jazz Concert. The group discussed the possibility of performing this work with Southall on piano and with Johnson as the conductor. The first Black Music Festival was organized in 1988 with Southall as coordinator. The festival featured adult, youth, and junior members as soloists and in ensembles. In addition to Black music of the United States, the music of Venezuela (Aura Tovar) and Africa (Sowah "Peter" Mensah) were also presented.

January, 1989-May, 1989.

Officers: Reginald Buckner, president. Ronald Brown, vice president. Geneva Southall, secretary. Louis Wilson, treasurer. Rev. Carl Walker, chaplain.

A letter, dated January 13, 1989, from Southall to Dr. William Jones (St. Paul

Chamber Orchestra), W. Rayford Johnson and Donald Washington confirms their participation as adjudicators for NANM's Central Regional convention to be held March 31, 1989. The agenda for the January adult division shows the meeting was held at the home of Ron Brown in St. Paul. The meditation was given by Rev. Carl Walker, which was preceded by the singing of "Lift Every Voice and Sing." The meeting primarily consisted of committee reports, the 3rd Banquet and the Central Regional Convention to be held March 31-April 1st at the Normandy Inn in Minneapolis. The meeting closed with the singing of the hymn "God be with You Til We Meet Again."

BMETC suffered its first major loss with the death of Reginald T. Buckner in 1989. A February 24, 1989, letter to the membership from Southall expresses their grief.

We have suffered a great loss with the death of our beloved friend and President, Dr. Reginald T. Buckner on February 4th; his love and commitment to the organization have been never ending. For this reason, more than ever, it is time to pick up his legacy and move ahead as he would expect us to do. In other words, knowing Reg, I can hear him looking down on us saying "Don't you think it is time for BMETC to be taking care of business?" ("Agenda, BMETC Meeting, 24 February 1991, Box 1, Folder 1991, MLF, St. Paul, MN," 1991).

Buckner was mourned individually and corporately by BMETC on Monday, March 6, 1989, in a branch memorial. The concert, *A Memorial Tribute Program to Dr. Reginal T. Buckner* was held at the Radisson University Hotel in Minneapolis. The concert began with the group singing of "Lift Every voice and Sing." Members of the adult, youth, and junior division of BMETC offered musical and spoken tributes. Special

guests included members of the Buckner family and members of the ministerial community.

NANM honored and memorialized Buckner at its National Convention in August. Southall closed with this encouragement. “Therefore, it is important that our love service and recommitment to His (sic) legacy of service begin with us as a collective BMETC family.” BMETC’s ability to move ahead with its plans to host the Regional meeting of NANM, work with the Afro Studies Department and Black Faculty Association, and realize Buckner’s dream of a multi-cultural music programs in the School of Music (U of M) was attributed to the Memorial Tribute on March 6, 1989 (Southall, 1989).

Leadership for the group was passed to vice president Ron Brown (Battle Creek Middle and Ramsey Jr. High). BMETC began to take action to protect and ensure the legacy of Buckner at the University of Minnesota by writing a letter to Fred Luckerman, Dean of the School of Music. In this letter, members express their concerns regarding Buckner’s academic position.

The unique talent Dr. Buckner brought to the U of M will make this selection difficult. To assist you in your development of a job description we feel you need to address certain issues. To show respect and honor to the goals Dr. Buckner strived for, we felt the position should be filled with a performance that has a Jazz history as well as Afro studies background. This person should be involved equally in Music Education and performance, since this was a key component of Dr. Buckners (sic) teaching philosophy...We, the members of BMETC, felt it is imperative that these concerns be set by the University. The years of dedication

given by Dr. Buckner to the benefit of U of M demand no less (R. R. Brown, 1989).

It was reported in the May 21, 1989, meeting, the School of Music closed its search and re-advertised the position to include input from the Afro-Studies department. BMETC members were invited to hear audition tapes of finalists and to attend open concerts by finalist. Throughout the 1989 year, BMETC members participated in activities honoring Buckner. U of M faculty, Alex Lubet dedicated his December 1 concert by the New Music Ensemble to Buckner. Members Ronald Brown and Frank Wharton participated.

January, 1990-December, 1990.

Officers: Ronald Brown, president. Geneva Southall, secretary. Louis Wilson, treasurer.

The January adult division meeting was held on January 21 at the Oak Park Community Center, Minneapolis. In addition to committee reports, University of Minnesota School of Music graduate student, Ramona Merritt provided musical selections. Twin Cities' journalist Connie Chivers read her original poetry accompanied by piano. Frank Wharton and Ronald Brown accompanied Mari Harris. Work began at this meeting produce a series of concerts featuring the Sacred Concerts of Duke Ellington to raise funds for the *Reginald T. Buckner Memorial Scholarship*. African American seniors who had gained acceptance into a college, music school, or university were able to apply for this scholarship. The \$1,000 award was given to majors and minors in music.

Ms. Jeweleen Jackson, Co-coordinator of the Miss Black Minnesota Pageant Director was the guest speaker for the meeting. She discussed the Miss Black Minnesota

Pageant. Her program emphasizes training and development for high school and college-age Black women. The swimsuit competition emphasizes nutrition, body conditioning and positive self-image. BMETC agreed to support the pageant by serving on various panels. Mari Harris volunteered to be a liaison between the pageant and BMETC.

Held at Mount Olivet Baptist Church in St. Paul, the February 18 meeting began with singing and a meditation. Patrick Brown (cello) and Frank Smith (viola da gamba) provided special musical numbers. Nine members of the youth division presented additional performances in honor of Black History Month program. Discussion of the Sacred Concert continued as well as updates from the scholarship committee. BMETC members participated in the annual Music of Black Composers concert organized by W. Rayford Johnson at Highland Park Senior High. This concert held on February 22, 1990, featured performers from all sections of the music department. BMETC members participated as consultants and guest speakers. These concerts provided educational opportunities not just for the students, parents, and teachers involved, but for the St. Paul community at large.

In addition, to BMETC fundraising efforts, the Minnesota Music Academy sponsored a tribute on April 22 at the Guthrie Theater. The 1990 award winners were Daniel Williams (World Studies and Music at Northwestern University in Illinois) and Cherise Washington (Chemical Engineering and Music at Hampton University in Virginia). There were, as usual, musical performances from BMETC members, old and new. BMETC members presented the Duke Ellington Sacred Concert #1 in *A Musical Tribute to Reginald Buckner* at St. Thomas Episcopal Church on June 24, 1990. In

addition to the Sacred Concert, BMETC youth and adult member presented a set of organ prelude and music for the offertory. A BMETC instrumental ensemble and dancers presented an overture featuring pieces by Ellington.

The fall kick-off member fellowship was held on Sunday, September 23, 1990. After a greeting time, the program began and included remarks by President Ronald Brown. Members of the youth division performed as well as the *Women of Class Trio* and the newly organized Youth Division Jazz Ensemble. Two guests were at the meeting. Dr. Ronal McCurdy, newly hired as Director of Jazz Studies at the University of Minnesota and Dr. T. J. Anderson, Distinguished Visiting Hill Professors of Composition at the University of Minnesota. Diana Washington, and students Destin Jumelle-y-Picokens, Lali McClellan, and Jamilla LaFleur reported on their trip to the 1990 NANM Convention in Norfolk, Virginia.

The October 21st meeting was held at the home of Ron Brown. Tracy Buckner, junior division and Twin Cities vocalist, Mari Harris, accompanied by Brown, provided music. The scholarship and grant committees, the youth division, and the treasurer gave reports. The *New Business* included completion of the year's calendar of meetings and programs. The group also discussed the 1992 NANM Convention. Ron McCurdy reported the U of M Jazz Ensemble would honor Buckner at it November 20 concert. An invitation from MMEA to BMETC was discussed. BMETC was invited to contribute to the Midwinter Clinic in February 1991. McCurdy volunteered to prepare and present a workshop on blues singers and how a study of blues singers could be incorporated into teaching. Louis Wilson, treasurer alerted the group to growing charges being assessed by

the bank and recommended the group research ways to cut down on costs occurring due to the number of checks being written.

Discussion occurred following Judy Henderson's report on grants. General Mills misinterpreted their grant request as a request for tuition. After meeting with Retha Clark King to clarify the request, King recommended securing a tax ID separate from NANM and finding someone who could serve as a program development person. Clark further explained most grant makers saw BMETC as a performance organization, not as an education organization. Members reiterated their support for music education as a necessity. Discussion turned toward identifying other funders from which to send requests. Pianist, Tracy Buckner performed a musical selection. BMETC members were encouraged to start a committee that would begin planning for the 1992 NANM convention that BMETC would host.

Ron McCurdy introduced his proposal for a *Reginald T. Buckner Lecture/Recital Series* at the November 18, 1990, meeting. The purpose of the series as stated by McCurdy was to "help keep alive the memory of Reginald Buckner with the help of BMETC and the Black community" (p. 3). Components of the series included workshops and presentations of Buckner's compositions and scholarly work. New BMETC member and composer Carei Thomas was present at the same November meeting. He facilitated a discussion of the Minnesota Composers Forum. Thomas urged more Black performers become involved in the Forum. He talked about the support he received from Buckner and recommended some vehicle be created for publicizing BMETC's need for funding to provide continued music education for students. Thomas agreed to keep BMETC

informed of grant funding schedules. The evening's special guest speaker was Stephanie Lusco (1954-2004) of the Minnesota Orchestra. Lusco, an African American, reported to the General Manager and Vice President of the orchestra. An accomplished French horn player, Lusco chose to be an educator rather than a professional musician. She discussed her work toward pressuring the MN Orchestra to become more involved in multicultural activities and to form stronger relationships with communities of color.

As a part of Lusco's efforts, BMETC members were invited to a meeting of the MN Orchestra Education Advisory Committee providing feedback on how the orchestra can attract a larger, more diverse audience of patrons. Composer, T.J. Anderson in attendance underscored Lusco's remarks emphasizing that without attempts to grow audiences built from relationships with communities, orchestras will be out of business in 20 years. BMETC ended the year with the usual end-of-the-year celebration hosted by Southall. The celebration honored graduating youth branch members. Former Scholarship winners were welcomed. The guest speaker was Janice Lane-Ewart, senior program director at Arts Midwest.

January 1991-December 1991.

Officers: Ronald Brown, president. Bertha Smith, vice president. Velma Warder, recording secretary. Geneva Southall, corresponding secretary. Louis Wilson, treasurer.

St James A.M.E. provided space for the January 13, 1991 meeting hosted by Judy Henderson. After singing "Lift Every Voice and Sing" the group prayed "The Lord's Prayer." Following announcement and committee reports, the president urged members to pay their dues and emphasized the need for a focus on fundraising. Adult and youth

members provided special music. Most of the discussion centered on the format for the NANM convention and planning.

February's meeting agenda for 1991 ends with "This is the most important beginning of what should be a very exciting experience in BMETC's history and for the Twin Cities" ("Agenda, BMETC Meeting, 24 February 1991, Box 1, Folder 1991, MLF, St. Paul, MN," 1991). BMETC began planning to host the 1992 NANM National Convention and was recognized by the Links, Inc. for their focus on "presenting talented Black youth in professional settings" (15 September 1991, Warder, p. 1). Grant awards were received from the Metropolitan Regional Arts Council (\$1,779) to host two concerts, one for *Women of Class* and one presenting Harold Jones, flutist (1935-2015). Harold Jones was a graduate from Julliard who taught at the Manhattan School of Music, the Westchester Conservatory, and Brooklyn College among others. Following his Town Hall (NY) debut in 1966, Jones appeared with many symphony orchestras throughout the United States and founded the Symphony of the New World (1965), the first racially integrated orchestra in the United States.

A letter from Dr. Southall, dated February 19 accompanied a check as contribution to cover the cost of BMETC's branch assessment. It also asks for \$75.00 to be taken from the general fund to pay for the three adjudicators for Dawn Padmore. Padmore would represent BMETC at the national NANM as a vocal contestant. There was no meeting in March as the adjudication performance of Dawn Padmore occurred on March 17, 1991. The concert is necessary to be able to participate in the National vocal competition. Adjudicators included Willis Patterson, president of NANM, Charles

Cannon, director of the Central Region, and BMETC members Brown, Southall, and LaFleur. Padmore performed pieces by Cilea (1886-1950), Duparc (1848-1933), and African American composer, Undine Moore (1904-1989).

BMETC held their April 21, 1991 meeting at the Walker-West studio in St. Paul. Dr. Walker offered prayer following group singing. Youth member, Bobbi Jones, performed two piano pieces. He was 1989 Schubert Club scholarship winner. Dawn Padmore shared her experience at the regional convention. The meeting ended following discussion about NANM procedures.

On Sunday, September 15, 1991, BMETC met at the Sabathani Community Center in south Minneapolis. Ron Brown showed members the plaque BMETC was awarded by the Links. The plaque was inscribed with "In recognition of your focus on presenting talented Black youth in professional settings" (Warder, 1991). A convention-working retreat was held on October 20 at the Sheraton Park Place Hotel. The four-hour session included break out session for subcommittees. At 6:45 p.m., the full group met to report and to discuss work that was accomplished in the break-out sessions.

Vice president Bertha Smith opened the November 17th meeting. Frances Goodlow was introduced as a member of the parent organization of the youth division. Southall announced Stephanie Lusco requested a member of BMETC attend a November 19 meeting of MN Orchestra to participate in a discussion of educational outreach. Treasurer Louis Wilson reported no members were up-to-date with their dues. Most of the discussion centered on the upcoming convention. Southall reported Romona Merritt, viola, would represent BMETC at the National Scholarship competition. A musical

presentation featured Denise Meyers, a doctoral vocal performance student at the University of Minnesota.

December 15, 1991, a meeting was held at the Sabathani Center. Reports followed announcements. The NANM subcommittees, Mass Meeting, workshops, Twin Cities Night, Youth/Junior Division, and Communication presented updates on their plans for the conventions. Commitments from Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton and Rev. William Smith had been obtained. The meeting was adjourned after commitments were made for additional meetings.

January 1992-December 1992.

Officers: Ronald Brown, president. Robert Lucas, vice president. Velma Warder, recording secretary. Louis Wilson, treasurer. Nita Cunningham, chaplain. Geneva Southall, historian. Charles Breese, Parliamentarian.

Meeting minutes are not found for January through September. It is assumed this was due to the work toward the 73rd NANM Convention, hosted by BMETC at the Sheraton Park Place Hotel (August 2-6). Margaret LaFleur was named Director of the National Junior Division. As such, she was responsible for the organization of activities for Junior members at the 1992 National Convention. As hosts, BMETC arranged housing, space for meetings, competitions, and rehearsals; and participated as performer and workshop clinicians.

The *Sixth Annual Black Composers Concert* at Highland Park was presented at Central High School and dedicated to Margaret B. LaFleur. Following the convention, BMETC sponsored at *Post-Convention Appreciation and Welcome Reception* on

September 27, 1992. The event was hosted by Southall at the Radisson Hotel in Ballroom

A. Performances by NANM award winners from BMETC included Justin Frank, piano, first place Jr. Division, Keisha Richburg, harp, first place Instrumental Youth Competition, Abebi Stafford, piano, first place, Youth Competition.

A BMETC Parent Council was organized in 1992 to formulate by-laws and to participate in concerts and in fundraising activities. From the minutes, dated October 10, 1992, it appears members were parents of youth and children participating in the Youth and Jr. Divisions. The meeting on November 22, 1992 was held at Walker-West Music Academy in St. Paul. Special guests include Stephanie Lusco, Maurine Knighton, and Lisa van der Steur. Stephanie Lusco, Education/Outreach Administrator for MN Orchestra made members aware of the recent arrival of William Eddins (b. 1963), hired as the Assistant Director of the orchestra. Eddins, a native of Buffalo, NY. Eddins distinguished himself with the Chicago Symphony where he was Assistant Conductor and within his solo piano recordings. Upon arrival in the Twin Cities, Eddins expressed interest to be an “artistic ambassador” (Chivers, 1992, p. 4B).

Working with Eddins, BMETC organized a choir, named the *BMETC Community Chorale* to participate in his February concert of Black Composers. New BMETC member, Robert Morris (Macalester College) prepared the choir. University of Minnesota students, Derrick Pennix and Denise Myers, were recruited as soloists, and William Warfield (NANM) was recruited as Narrator. The concert featured the works of William Grant Still (1895-1978), Eli Siegmeister (1909-1991), Duke Ellington (1899-1974), and Morris.

Van der Steur was from the Minnesota Opera and discusses the company's desire to find ways to work with African American talent in the Twin Cities. Maurine Knighton shared information regarding Penumbra. Financial items discussed at the meeting include a recommendation from the executive committee to raise member fees to \$40.00. This recommendation became a motion which was passed. The one dissenting vote suggested the fee be raised to \$50.00 instead. A BMETC *Christmas Get-together* was held on December 20, 1992 at Macalester College in St. Paul. Musical works were presented and a potluck meal was enjoyed by all

January 1993-July 1993.

Officers: Ron Brown, president, vice president. Geneva Southall, secretary, treasurer, chaplain. Geneva Southall, historian, Parliamentarian.

Meetings were very sparse in 1993. This can be attributed to the number of BMETC members involved in a Minnesota Orchestra concert. A January 1993 memo addressed to BMETC members canceled BMETC meetings until after the event. Curiously, after canceling meetings, one is held on February 28, 1993. After an impressive list of performances, career updates, and notice of Elise Lyle, hospitalized, the group discussed the upcoming concert of Black composers organized by Ron McCurdy at the University of Minnesota.

Without monthly meetings, it appeared the organization was becoming destabilized. Dr. Southall stepped in to get BMETC re-grouped. In her memo to BMETC Members (past and present) she offered updates on the careers of Miles Patrick Rhone, Carl Walker, Patricia Jones (University of Iowa), Padmore, Merritt, Pennix, Morris and

present and former youth members, Tajamal Goodlow (accepted Southwest State), Destin Jumelle-y-Picokens, Derrick Robinson, Tine Atlas, Marcus Walker, (accepted Memphis State), Erick Goodlow (graduate of Hamline University), Angie Robertson (graduate of Howard University). Southall also encouraged the adults to reform.

Hopefully by now all of you on post-Convention '92 "sabbaticals" and "leave of absences" (sic) are rested and raring to go again for our fall (sic) kick-off. This is especially important as we prepare for the organization's 20th Anniversary (Southall, 1993a, p. 1)

BMETC President Brown stepped down as president in September 1993. His letter of resignation followed his letter to the members on September 1 in which he encourages the group to re-form.

We must get back to the business of functioning as an organization with regular meetings, recruitment of new members, fundraising for scholarships, preparing for the 1994 75th NANM convention and a host of other vital activities that keeps our organization alive and well (R. R. Brown, 1993).

Within this same period, Southall addressed a selected group of members in a memo dated September 8, 1993, entitled "Survival and Revival."

Survival and Revival is one of the themes begin considered for the 75th National Convention in Dallas – even if not accepted, we can truly say that it is the 1993-1994 theme for BMETC as we look forward to the 20th Anniversary soon after the '94 Convention. Revival programmatically is what we will be involved in and this should begin without delay. Given the challenge I am again hosting our post-

Convention get-together and welcome reception/program (Southall, 1993b, p. 1).

The September 26 event welcomed incoming African American graduated students at the University of Minnesota, Lawrence E. Burnett, newly hired choral director at Carleton College and the family of Robert Morris. Southall updated those included in the letter on the careers of Padmore, Pennix, and Merritt and closed with,

Obviously we can be proud of whatever support (sic) role we have given these young people who want to let BMETC known (sic) how important it has been to them. This is again one of our long known reasons for the organization (p.2).

Marcus Walker, piano won the 1993 Reginald T. Buckner scholarship to attend Memphis State in Tennessee, and new officers were installed at the October 1993 meeting.

Nineteen Ninety-three officers included Donald Washington, president, Bertha Smith, vice president, Velma Warder, recording secretary, Southall, corresponding secretary/historian, Louis Wilson, Treasurer and Rev. Carl Walker, chaplain.

BMETC president Donald Washington introduced Proposed Program/Business Meetings. The schedule planned for only seven meetings of BMETC membership. On the months without chapter meetings committees met. The months of January and February were reserved for the support of performances. At this point, meeting minutes became very contracted with only the briefest of notes offered. BMETC received a second Metropolitan Regional Arts Council grants providing \$5,721. The project they proposed suffered multiple changes documented in the July 1, 1993, report. The original proposal was for a youth orchestra, jazz band and wind ensemble. Donald and Faye Washington, hired as artists/directors, became uncomfortable working with the wind and jazz Bands.

Cedric Stripling was hired, but left the organization in August 1993. Margaret LaFleur became director of strings, with Marvaleen Atlas directed, and accompanied a vocal ensemble. Robert Morris was hired as choral director. When new directors were hired, Atlas and LaFleur focused their energies, serving as administrators which was the original intent of their involvement. Student participants between 1992 and 1993 performed three concerts. BMETC members, Ron McCurdy and Margaret LaFleur, participated in the community as part of the African American Cultural Advisors of the Ordway Music Theater. The mission statement of the Advisors reads: "To promote and increase awareness of the Ordway Music Theatre and the arts and to educate the Ordway and community at large about the African/African-American culture" ("Minutes, 8 July 1993, Box 1, Folder 1993. MLF, St. Paul, MN," 1993).

January 1994-November 1994.

Officers: Donald Washington, president. Bertha Smith, vice president. Velma Warder, recording secretary. Geneva Southall, corresponding secretary. Louis Wilson, treasurer. Rev. Carl Walker, chaplain.

BMETC continued to experience difficulties as it entered its 20th year. While most of the work for the year surrounded fundraising for the 20th Anniversary, to provide for participation at the NANM Convention in Dallas, and to provide funds for scholarship and continued programming. Membership recruitment was more obvious as a goal in meetings minutes. A third grant from the MRAC was received for programming in the youth and junior divisions. At the January 9, 1994, meeting, Sharon Buckner expressed concerns regarding the direction of the University of Minnesota's MLK Memorial

Concert originated by Reginald Buckner. “The new concept by the current planners seems to be only a show, a performance, that it is moving away from the M.L. King civil rights struggles and Reginald’s dream of celebration it through the performing arts.” Members agreed. The program is “moving away from the quality of programming earlier established” (“Minutes, 9 January 1994, Box 1, Folder 1994. MLF, St. Paul, MN,” 1994, p. 2).

Additional problems discussed were the time and place of the concert, difficulties in obtaining tickets, and the lack of good and timely publicity. In the original concept, performances were held on Sundays afternoons, but late enough to afford those in churches to attend. Tickets were not required. The group voted to write a letter for staff member Jeff Stuckey and establish a committee to include “African Americans who are knowledgeable about the civil rights struggle and commitment to continue Dr. Buckner’s original concept – a celebration through the performing arts represented the variety and scope of African-American arts performances” (p. 2). A copy of this letter was not found in the archives.

BMETC president, Donald Washington asked for clarification of BMETC’s purpose in March 1994. Charter members in attendance explained the history and original goals of the organization.

The original purpose was to support children in music, especially those who were studying, taking lessons and in school and community organizations. In those days, children of color had a difficult time, especially with their peers if they wanted to study classical music. First mission of the group was to the children

studying classical, jazz and African American music (Warder, 1994, p. 1).

The president expressed dissatisfaction with committee members who were not living up to their commitments. The minutes printed do not address these concerns.

Raymond Tymas-Jones, vocalist, director, and professor of voice at the School of Music (University of Northern Iowa UNI) presented information performed and presented highlights of his career. Offered in the second part of Jones' presentation were descriptions of the School of Music's programs and scholarship. He emphasized the school's dedication to recruiting students of color (Warder, 1994).

In May, Donald Washington attempted a reorganization of BMETC asking members to write down suggestions of objectives for BMETC (15 May 1994, Warder). The organization received a \$10,000 grant from the Land Foundation. New BMETC member, Earl Ross, violinist was welcomed. Ross had come to the Twin Cities from Philadelphia (PA) where he performed with the Philadelphia All City Orchestra. He performed for a period with the Kenwood Chamber Orchestra. The 20 Yr. Anniversary Committee which included Southall (U of M), Cheek (BMC), Jean Ann Durades, Stephanie Lusco (MN Orchestra), Morris (Macalester), McCurdy (U of M), Wilson, and Washington reported a goal of \$20,000 to fund scholarships and BMETC general expenses.

Reorganization efforts continued in the June 21, 1994, meeting. Washington recommended the establishment of a Board of Directors. New member, Lawrence Burnett from Carleton College was introduced. Burnett planned to introduce a course on African American music, a choral concert of World music, a choral concert of African

American music, and an African drum ensemble. He sought BMETC's support and assistance as a resource. Students in the Youth and Junior Division's presented a major concert on June 26, 1994, at Macalester College (St. Paul) entitled *Negro Spirituals Through the Ages: A Dramatic and Musical Presentation*. A souvenir booklet including advertisements from Twin Cities businesses and supporters was created.

Documents from August through October 1994 signaled continuing problems with the organization. An unsigned letter to Washington from the Parent Group of the Youth and Junior Chapters expressed concerns (29 August 1994). The letter posed 8 question groups and nine proposal groups. The questions included the following.

1. What type of organization is BMETC profit or non-profit? Does BMETC have a tax exempt status? If so, who does the tax reporting?
2. What was the purpose of each grant that has been received in the name of BMETC? What organization(s) provided the grants? What were the amounts of each grant? Who signed on the grants as representative of BMETC? What is the breakdown of expenditures on each grant?
3. What are the criteria for attending NANM conventions?
4. What is the criteria for participating in BMETC concerts?
5. What are the responsibilities of national and local chapters in regard to national conference expenditures? Who (students, parents, instructors) benefits from allocated funds; and where do the funds come from?
6. Do we have a general liability insurance waiver?
7. What is the obligation of BMETC parents in regard to fund-raising, dues,

volunteer services, etc.?

8. Do BMETC instructors expect to be paid a salary: If so, how will these salaries be paid and who should set the amount to be paid? If funds are not available, will instructors be willing to volunteer their time?

The proposals all surrounded transparency in communication, clarification of actions taken by the Adult Chapter, and separation of Adult and Parent Group funds. Though these concerns appeared to be addressed in the August 31, 1994, meeting; no minutes of this discussion were found. Changes can be assumed because of September 1994, documents, which included a memo to parents and members of BMETC from the BMETC Parent Reorganization Committee, titled, Reaching “Different Horizons” (14 September 1994). The purpose of the memo was to invite parents to a meeting to elect parents to serve on a Parents Advisory Board, to solicit participation on BMETC committees, and as officers. Included in this correspondence were job descriptions for officers and parent committee functions. There were no documents found regarding this meeting or its effects.

Dr. Geneva Southall left BMETC as an active participant in October of 1994, two days following the implementation of the group’s 20th-anniversary celebration on October 8 at Plymouth Congregational Church. “...I have decided it is now time to ‘pass the torch’ to others to move forward to the 3rd decade. “Be assured that this decision was not easily made since I have considered many of you as part of my extended family. I will truly miss the musical and social comraderie (sic) we shared” (10 October 1994, Southall). Southall cited her multiple commitments with MacPhail, the Madeline Island

Music Camps, AAUW, and work on her third volume based on the life and career of Thomas Wiggins Bethune. She noted as final projects the completion of scrapbooks for 1988-1994. In addition to her memo, Southall presented 20 years of highlights. The list of highlights and program flyer are included as appendices A and B.

Donald Washington called for the organization to meet to consider BMETC's future in an October 12 letter. "We need your commitment and participation to work through whatever difficulties are in the way of our growth" (12 October 1994, Washington to Members). It must be assumed the meeting did not provide the needed thrust as Donald Washington resigned as president on November 6, 1994.

I feel I can no longer lead this organization in light of the conceptual differences and miscommunication. I can say I gave it my best and tried to bring minds together on a positive focus. I have enjoyed working with the youth and hope the organization continues to keep our culture alive through them (Washington to BMETC, 6 November 1994).

Washington cited his commitments as a composer and the "In the Spirit of Nomads" concert series as his necessary focus. This letter closes the documented history of BMETC 1974-1994. Chapter 4 documented the history of BMETC through meeting minutes, agendas, correspondence, and publicity. It shows an organization that began centered in education and evolved into one centered on performance and competitions in NANM's regional and national conventions. Chapter 5 will glean evidence of intellectual capital from these and other sources found in archives.

Chapter 5: The Intellectual Capital of BMETC

Chapter 4 presented a documented history primarily using archived agendas and meeting minutes. Chapter 5 explores this same history represented by its intellectual capital. Intellectual capital is organized into three large categories. These categories of capital are human, structural, and customer. This intellectual capital will be used in chapter 6 to discuss BMETC's place within the lineage of All-Black organizations and BMETC legacy, influence, and impact.

Human Capital

Members of BMETC performed, composed, arranged music, wrote curricula, served as competition adjudicators and workshop clinicians. They used their skills and knowledge to counter racism and to help Black students navigate pathways to careers in music. Each BMETC member produced enough human capital to fill individual dissertations and will be offered as recommendations for additional research. Four highly involved members are offered as representative of the overall human capital produced by the organization. Extracted from archives are examples of the human capital produced by Reginald T. Buckner, Geneva H. Southall, Margaret B. LaFleur, and Judy Henderson. The human capital produced at monthly meetings concludes the section.



Figure 9. Dr. Reginald T. Buckner. Reprinted with permission from the University of Minnesota Archives in the University of Minnesota Archives Photograph Collection.

Reginald T. Buckner (1938-1989).

Reginald Tyrone Buckner was a founding member of BMETC. During his twenty-year tenure, he served the organization in various capacities, including vice president (1977-78), president (1981-82; 85-89), and chair or co-chair of many committees. Buckner was born in Kansas City, Kansas, and was involved from a very young age in the music program at Strangers Rest Baptist Church. He earned degrees at the University of Kansas in 1961 and 1966 and taught instrumental music in Kansas City public schools from 1966-1969. He earned his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota in 1974. Buckner completed post-doctoral studies at the International Music Workshop in Jazz, Salzburg, Austria in 1982.

At the U of M Buckner's university teaching career (1969-1989) included

teaching assistant (1969-71), instructor (1971-5), assistant professor (1975-81), and full professor (1982-1989). Buckner's musical activities included a position as pianist/organist at Zion Baptist Church in North Minneapolis (1979-1982). Buckner performed Jazz, sacred music and Western art music locally, throughout the country and overseas. As a freelance performer, composer, arranger, author, scholar, and workshop clinician, he distinguished himself nationally and internationally. The amount of human capital he produced is prolific and varied, making Buckner's contributions worthy of a dissertation of its own merits. Highlighted are a few examples of the human capital he produced.

Compositions and Arrangements.

Reginald T. Buckner created solo piano works, choral and solo vocal works, and works for instrumental ensembles. Most of these are either unpublished or self-published and are not readily available. *God So Loved the World* (n.d.) was composed as an Art song for soprano and piano, and as a choral anthem. *I Would Rather Walk with God* (n.d.) was composed as an SATB choral anthem. *K.M.K.M.K.* (1970), a five-movement piano suite honoring John Kennedy, Medgar Evers, Martin Luther King, Jr. Malcolm X, and Robert Kennedy. Solo piano works that honor important people in his life include *Sharon* (in honor of his wife) and *Geneva* (in honor of Southall). With O'Neill Sanford, Buckner arranged *Alfie* (1976) and *Take the A Train* (1976) for the University of Minnesota Marching Band.

Scholarly Work.

Buckner's scholarly works were published as a dissertation and as articles in peer-reviewed journals. His scholarly achievements also include work as an editor, sought-after clinician, and in the many presentations made at conventions and conferences at the local, national, and international level. Buckner's published works include *A history of music education in the black community of Kansas City, Kansas 1905-1954* (1982; 1974), *Rediscovering Major N. Clark* (Buckner, 1985) and *Jazz in mind: essays on the history and meanings of jazz* (1991).

An article based on Buckner's dissertation, *A history of music education in the Black community of Kansas City, Kansas 1905-1954* (1974) appeared in the *Journal of Research in Music Education* in 1982. The original research investigated the facilities, teachers, curriculum, activities, and students in a Black community in Kansas City, KS. Buckner used public documents and interviews of former students, teachers, and administrators to provide historical data on a Black music education program. *Rediscovering Major N. Clark* appeared in MENC's February 1985 journal. Listed with the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), Buckner's article is introduced in this way.

Historians of American music education have yet to recognize a Black music educator as important and worthy of observation. This article discusses a candidate--Major Nathaniel Clark Smith, a little-known Black music educator, composer of more than a hundred works, businessman, humanitarian, and teacher of numerous big-name jazz musicians (EJ312775).

With S. Weiland, Dr. Buckner edited *Jazz in Mind: Essays on the history and meanings of jazz*. The work was published posthumously in 1991. The text featured essays originally presented at a scholarly conference on Jazz held at the University in the fall of 1987. A review by Peretti (1993) describes the work as a “tentative revival in Jazz studies” (p. 139). The text represented an interdisciplinary examination of jazz as a phenomenon of music and culture. Buckner was appointed to the editorial committee of *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education* in 1983. He also served on MENC’s History Special Interest Group (SRIG) committee in 1980. Buckner is listed in Jere Humphreys’ (1980) study of authors, reviewers, and editorial committee members of the Bulletin as having contributed reviews in 18 issues.

Performances and Productions.

In addition to many performances throughout the United States, Reginald Buckner was a featured soloist with the Cleveland Orchestra (1979), Minnesota Orchestra (1975) and the St. Paul Civic Symphony (1982). Two major productions include *Three hundred years of Black religious music: The Oral tradition* and *Black Music and The Big Band Sound of the 30s*. The first production was performed at the convention of the Minnesota Chapter of Gospel Music Workshop of American in 1976. Buckner, project director at Northrup Auditorium in 1977, presented Irv Williams and his 15-piece band in the second production.

Recordings.

It is unfortunate Buckner’s recordings were made by Twin Cities companies

because his talents were never recognized by a larger recording market. However, his LP album *New Tides in Music featuring Reginald Buckner* is currently being sold by the online record dealer, Dusty Groove for \$99.00. The record dealer offers the following review.

Sweet Hammond and keyboard work from Reginald Buckner – a really overlooked player, but one with a hell of a groove! The tracks here are mighty tight, and have a great funky undercurrent – thanks to sweet bass from Charles Gater and some especially nice drums from Ron Lee – who brings in a few tight breaks to the record! (“Reginald Buckner - New Tides in Music - featuring Reginald Buckner,” 1996).

Instruction.

Buckner’s work as an educator was fueled by his passion for Black music, the education of music students, and the preparation of music teachers. This passion is well represented throughout his career as a performer-educator. In a 1981 article, “Fewer Blacks in Music School Means Fewer Black Musicians” by Judith Raunig-Graham (University of Minnesota) for the Minneapolis Spokesman-Recorder he expressed his concerns Black music students elementary and secondary schools have fallen behind White music students. These concerns are fueled by personal observations during his visits to area schools in the Twin Cities and conversations Buckner had with Black music educators across the country. He opined there were fewer Black music students today than 20 years ago and that this problem is in part, due to the attitudes of music educators. “Educators have to quit being small-minded in their thinking and get out and sell what we

have to the public. America must not turn its back on Black musicians” (Graham-Raunig, 1981). Buckner cited the following as reasons Black students were not participating in public school music programs.

- a). Changes in Black culture leading to fewer pianos in homes “The color television has replaced the piano”
- b). Less support by Black parents to provide music lessons
- c). The effects of social changes causing Black students to drop out of bands and orchestras to concentrate on ethnic music and
- d). Cuts to music programs (Graham-Raunig, 1981).

The effects of the decline of trained music students on the Black community is seen in the many calls Buckner receives from ministers looking for church musicians. “Some people think music is the frosting, I think they are the cake. The culture could be in jeopardy if the calibre of music dictated by its musicians becomes mediocre” (p. 1).

The large number of Black students completing degrees in Music and Music Education at the U of M was in large part due to his recruitment efforts and visibility within the Twin Cities’ communities. Buckner’s national and international relationships with the Jazz communities enabled him to present jazz icons to his U of M students in person and audiovisual form as guest presenters. His often cited video series, *Jazz: An American Classic* is critically acclaimed. Created as a television credit course produced by the Department of Independent Study, and the University Media Resources of the University of Minnesota, the ten-part series was co-sponsored by the University of Mid-America (Lincoln, Nebraska). It was the culmination of 3 years of research. The artists

included donated their time to participate in the series. Travel to acquire the interviews took Buckner and Linda Parker to New York, Los Angeles, Kansas City, New Orleans, and Chicago. Each segment features Buckner at the piano as narrator, performances by the University Jazz Ensemble under Dr. Bencriscutto, audio recordings from the Smithsonian Classic Jazz collection, and interviews with musicologists and Jazz icons. These icons include Count Basie, Dizzy Gillespie, Roy Eldridge, Shelley Manne, Earl “Fatha” Hines, “Shorty” Rogers and Thad Jones. Buckner served as host, writer, interviewer, pianist, and bandleader.

Buckner also produced a 100-page study guide, which was co-authored with Linda Parker. The program was first broadcast in Minnesota January 9 through March 13 (1979) on KCTA television. Well-received in Minneapolis, the series was offered on television stations throughout North America. The series discussed in *Billboard* magazine includes quotes by Dr. Buckner. “We have tried to explain, in simple terms, how jazz began and why it continues to grow” (Dexter Jr., 1979, p. 80). The program was nationally distributed by the University of Mid-America and broadcast throughout the United States. With the University of Minnesota Media Resources, Buckner additionally produced videos as part of *Using Ethnic Music in Education: Afro-American Music* (1975). The five-part series explored Black sacred music, the blues, jazz, and rock

Nationally, Buckner distinguished himself as an apt workshop moderator and clinician. Examples of these workshops include, *Teaching Black American Music: Part I Teacher Education in Music for the 1990s: Input from the Black Perspective*. His panel included Alvin Batiste (Southern University, LA), Eddie Meadows (San Diego State

University, CA), William Theodore McDaniel, Jr. (Founding Member, BMC), and Carlesta Henderson (Keene State College, NH). On August 13th he participated with Jazz performance luminaries, authors and educators Frank Tirro (Yale University, MA), Bob James (Jazz Recording Artist, NY), Alvin Batiste and Warrick Carter (Berklee School of Music, MA) in a panel discussion titled *Black American Music: Jazz Part II (History)*.



Figure 10. Dr. Geneva H. Southall. Reprinted from the University of Minnesota Archives in the University of Minnesota Archives Photograph Collection.

Geneva H. Southall (1925-2004).

Southall's career as an educator, scholar, and performer began early in her life and was informed by her activist roots. With her daughter Patricia, Southall became active in the Civil Rights Movement through the NAACP in Orangeburg, South Carolina in the late 50s. A plaintiff in a school desegregation suit in the same city, Southall was jailed twice. In 1966, Southall became the first woman to receive a Ph.D. in piano performance and music literature from the University of Iowa. She joined the University

of Minnesota's staff in 1970 and retired in 1992. She shared tenure between the Afro-American Studies department (AFRO) and the School of Music and was AFRO Department Chair from 1974 to 1978. As a founding member of BMETC, Southall served on many committees and produced human capital in the form of performances, scholarship, and work as a clinician and educator. Southall's national activities include Director of Research on Black Composers (1985) and Scholarship Chairman of NANM, and memberships with the College Music Symposium, and the Music Library Association.

Similar to Buckner, Geneva H. Southall's human capital could easily be the subject of a dissertation and would require traveling throughout the United States to access her extensive archives. Her archives are held in five repositories. Archives from U of M departments are stored in a repository in the Elmer L. Anderson Library. Additional repositories of Southall's archives are stored at the History Center (Minnesota), Emory University (Georgia), University of Iowa, and Columbus State University (Georgia).

Archives stored at the repository in the Elmer L. Anderson Library include Southall's correspondence, department documents for the African American/African Studies department and one folder of BMETC organizational materials. The History Center archives contain BMETC documents from 1974 to 1994. Emory's *Geneva H. Southall Papers* comprise extensive archives featuring personal papers from 1945-2007, research and writing files (1999-2002), musician files (1860-1997), the collected writings of others (1949-2007), photographs and scrapbooks (1976-1996), printed materials

(1923-2004), audiovisual materials (1903-1997) and born-digital materials⁸ (2002). Dr.

Geneva Handy Southall is listed in the African American Registry as a “musician, educator, activist, and author” (“Dr. Geneva H. Southall, musician, teacher, and civil rights educator,” 2013). This archive purchased in 2005 was processed by Amber L. Moore, Tricia Hersey, and Jason Gutierrez in 2014 and is stored in the Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

The University of Iowa houses the Southall documents as part of its Iowa Women’s Archives repository. The collection is comprised of biographical papers, research, and recordings (1960-2004) donated by Southall in 1998. Daughter, Patricia Jones donated additional items in 2004. The *Geneva Southall Collection* (SMC 66) is stored in the Columbus State University Archives and is comprised of articles about Southall and articles written by Southall. There was no further information available online regarding this archive.

Publications.

Three books were written on the subject of pianist, composer, Thomas “Blind Tom” Bethune. The first text, *Blind Tom: The continuing enslavement of Blind Tom, the Black pianist-composer (1865-1887)*, published in 1983, included a recording of Bethune’s compositions performed by Southall. Volume II, published in 1999 was *Blind Tom: The post-civil war enslavement of a Black musical genius*. African American scholar and founder of the Center for Black Music Research, Samuel A. Floyd, Jr. (1937-2016) reviewed the second book in the series in the *Black Perspective in Music* (1986).

⁸ Born-digital materials refer to materials that originated as digital materials.

He characterized the text as sound, scholarly and definitive.

Blind Tom, the Black pianist-composer (1849-1908), volume III was published in 1999 and was republished in 2002. Brian Thompson (2000) promotes the text as helping to address the invisibility of Blacks within biographies of nineteenth-century American composers. Thompson offers that while the text is not a critical biography, it represents a denunciation of the societal structures in which Tom lived. Eileen Southern indicated the text was a “model of musical scholarship thoroughly documented with copious notes” (Southern, 1980, pp. 128–9). Additional scholarly work includes encyclopedia articles published in the New Grove Dictionary of American Music, a review of *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* by Dena J. Epstein (1978), and numerous journal articles including *Black Composers and Religious Music* (Southall, 1974a) for the *Black Perspective of Music*.

Her article, *Blind Tom: A misrepresented and neglected composer-pianist* (1975) was offered as corrective to accounts that surround the family, life, and career of Thomas “Blind Tom” Greene Wiggins Bethune. The issues addressed by Southall include claims of Wiggins being an idiot and a mental defective. Southall contradicted aspersions relating to Bethune’s mental health citing his immense talent as a multi-instrumentalist (piano, cornet, and flute), as a vocalist, poet, and composer of over 100 compositions. She further presented as support his ability to recite literature in several languages and the fact he passed numerous music theory tests given by leading musical theorist George Bristow. Southall posits the behaviors that labeled the pianist as an imbecile may have been acculturated to make Tom more entertaining. She uses *Musical Prodigies: Masters*

at an Early Age by DuBois and Fisher to support this supposition. “Why should Tom’s managers rechannel (sic) Tom’s reactions into more socially acceptable patterns when the idiot actions were so profitable?” (as cited in Southall, 2016, p. 147). The opinion Tom’s mother was acquiescent to his continued slavery was printed in an article appearing in *Essence* magazine in 1973. Southall uses the interview of Tom’s mother in 1902 and information from the 1865 guardianship trial to counter this conclusion. The essay further illuminates Thomas’ contributions to the piano literature of the 19th century (Southall, 2016) and was supported by an extensive bibliography including both primary and secondary sources and musical excerpts.

In a briefer form, the human capital of three additional BMETC members is now offered to advance archival findings of the prolific nature of human capital. Presented are examples of human capital produced by Margaret B. LaFleur, Judy Henderson and O’Neill Sanford.

Margaret B. LaFleur.

Mrs. LaFleur earned her Bachelor’s degree in Music and French from Bethune Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Florida in 1967. Her teaching career prior to coming to the Twin Cities included posts at the junior high level in Palm Beach County (Florida). LaFleur, one of the charter members of BMETC, was a member from 1974 through 2004. As a member of BMETC, Mrs. LaFleur served various capacities as president (1984-5), vice president (1981-83), secretary (1975-81), as the chair or co-chair of many sub-committees and as director of the youth divisions. In 1975, she was appointed as Elementary Music Resource Teacher for the Minneapolis Public Schools.

LaFleur had served as Music Resources Teacher for the Southwest Alternative Schools (1971-1973) and as an Elementary Music Specialist at Clinton, Greely, Mann, and Bremer schools (1973-5). Her primary role was to improve the quality of learning for students through improving the quality of music instruction. "For having been appointed as the best candidate for a position which the members of BMETC encouraged her to apply, a hearty congratulation on what will truly be a challenging and demanding position" ("Music Educators Salute Margaret LaFleur, 19 October 1975, Box 3 Scrapbook, Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities, Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities: An Inventory of Their Records, MNHS, St. Paul, MN," n.d., p. 2).

In her capacities as an educator in the St. Paul and Minneapolis public schools, she developed teaching units as multimedia projects discussing African-American music. Subjects covered in the multimedia project included *Music of African*, *Black Spirituals*, *Gospel*, *Blues*, *Jazz*, *Soul*, and *Classical Music*. Five television shows for the Minneapolis Public Schools were aired on KTCA television. *Music of Africa: The Dance*, *Music of Trinidad: The Steel Drum* were two topics were covered in two television programs. The music of America was covered in three parts including *Music of the U.S.A.*, *Game Songs and Work Songs*, and *Gospel Music*.

Judy M. Henderson.

A native of Minnesota, Judy M. Henderson studied organ performance first at Hamline (St. Paul, MN) then at Azusa Pacific University (CA). She completed a degree in organ and education from Gustavus Adolphus (St. Peter, MN). She was the first Black teacher in the Mankato public school district. After Mankato, Henderson served at J.J.

Hill, Chelsea Heights, and Maxfield in St. Paul. After her children grew older, Henderson taught in Inver Hills and at Central H.S. (St. Paul). The financial inconsistencies Henderson experienced as a music teachers led her to return to school to earn a degree preparing her to teach History and Sociology.

I taught part-time and then I decided well my kids were getting ready to go to college and I really needed to start racking up the money to get to them into the school, to get them through school and then I changed my major to history and sociology. Three years later I did that, got my licensure in that and then I started teaching history at Eagan High School (personal communication with J.

Henderson, March 14, 2014).

With this new licensure, Henderson re-entered the workforce teaching at Eagan and Burnsville Sr. High. In 2007, she became the Equity Coordinator for the St/Paul/Burnsville/Eagan/Savage school district and retired in 2010.

African American Music in Minnesota: From Spirituals to Rap (1994) was a major project completed by Henderson. The audio tape offers 16 performances of 26 Twin Cities artists, choirs, and bands representing the genres of Spirituals, Gospel, Children's Rhymes, Blues, Jazz, Home music, Rock, and Rap and The seventy-six-page book can be divided into three major sections. Section 1 provides a brief history of African Americans in Minnesota. Section 2 discusses African patterns found in African-American music and explains types of African-American music. The third section includes researched liner notes for each of the 16 performances. Twenty-seven photographs of Black Minnesotans are interspersed throughout.

A review by Phyllis M. May-Machunda (2016), African-American folklorist, and ethnomusicologist from Moorhead State University (Minnesota) lauds the project as “a great asset” and “an important musical survey” (p. 140-41). May-Machunda cites the project as being well researched, containing information and abounding with photographs. Also noted is the historical information that provided context for understanding the musical traditions of Minnesota’s African Americans. The only weakness cited is the absence of the contributions of Black Minnesotan musicians to the rest of the world.



Figure 11. O'Neill Sanford. Reprinted with permission from the University of Minnesota Archives in the University of Minnesota Archives Photograph Collection.

O'Neill Sanford.

Sanford came to the University of Minnesota from Virginia State College where he was the director of marching and concert bands. Selected from a pool of 50 applicants, he was hired to serve at the University of Minnesota in 1976. Sanford was chosen

because of his conducting skills and ability to arrange music. Frank A. Bencriscutto, professor of music and director of all University of Minnesota bands noted Sanford's enthusiasm and personality combined with his conducting and arranging skills as key to his being hired ("Marching band leader named, will start directing in June, May 1976, MSR, Box 3, Scrapbook, Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities, Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities: An Inventory of Their Records, MNHS, St. Paul, MN," n.d.). Sanford's works, some of them creating while at the University of Minnesota, are performed throughout the United States and Europe.

BMETC, as an organization, support the development of human capital at its monthly meetings. Each month, BMETC members from the adult, youth and later, junior divisions performed musical selections. Additionally, BMETC members and invited guests from the academic or performance community presented research, offered stories from personal experiences, and engaged those in attendance at the meeting in discussions increasing knowledge and developing presentation skills. A partial list of scholarly presentations in meetings gleaned from archives is identified in Figure 12.

Date	Presentations	Presenter
September 20, 1982	NANM (August 8-13) Convention De-Brief	BMETC members that were in attendance
October 17, 1982	Salzburg: International Jazz Workshop Post-Doctoral Studies	Reginald T. Buckner (U of M)
November 21, 1982	A Philosophy of Music Education for the 1980s	Susan McClary (U of M)
December 7, 1982	Marian Anderson: The Lady and Her Music	Patricia Turner, U of M and NANM
January 16, 1983	Reflections from a Star of the Touring "Porgy and Bess" Company	James Murray
April 18, 1982	Music Educators in Non-Academic Professions: Challenge of the 80s	Yvonne Cheek (BMC President)
June 22, 1982	Dissertation Update	Linda Parker (U of M)
September 20, 1982	Music of Cuba: A Slide-Tape Presentation	Geneva H. Southall
March 20, 1983	Reflections by a Jazz Pianist/Singer: From Being a Member of the 1920s Al Jenkins Cotton Pickers to a 36-Year Career as an Entertainer in Minneapolis Lounges and Beach Resorts	Auzie Dial, Jazz performer
April 17, 1983	Cantorians	Kenneth Robinson (St. Paul)
May 15, 1983	African Tribal Dance: Lecture/Demonstration	Maria Burgh
June 22, 1983	A Historical Overview of Musical Activities in the St. Paul Black Community: 1940-1970	Ben Zachary, Concordia College, and St. Paul Public Schools
November 20, 1983	Black Music, Ethnic Music, and Black Church Performers	Sam Davis
December 13, 1983	No title	Tom Tipton
March 18, 1983		Ermine Allen
January 13, 1985	Black Music Awards	Peter Rhodes
March 17, 1985	Reading of original poem, <i>Wilder Forest</i>	Mary Easter
June 17, 1985	No title	Undine Moore, composer
February 1986	Hamilton Elementary School	Margaret LaFleur, BMETC

April 20, 1986	Music in Our Schools: A Question of Values	Lloyd Ultan, University of MN
April 1987	No title	Rebecca Shockley, University of MN
May 17, 1987	Experiences	Rev. Oliver White
June 15, 1987	Summer Music Programs	Carol Johnson
October 16, 1988	Piano Concerto No. 1, C Major: Florence Meets Africa, A Jazz Concert	Mel Coleman
October 15, 1989	Reminiscences	Faye Washington, BMETC
November 19, 1989	Shared experiences as a professional pianist, salesman. Facilitated discussion of the keyboard.	Larry W. Loud, Schmitt Music
January 21, 1990	Pageant training and leadership development	Jewelean Jackson, coordinator of Miss Black Minnesota Pageant
September 23, 1990	No title	Ronald McCurdy, University of MN
September 23, 1990	No title	T. J. Anderson, composer
November 22, 1992	Minnesota Orchestra and William Eddins	Stephanie Lusco, Education/Outreach Administrator for Minnesota Orchestra
November 22, 1992	No title	Maurine Knighton, Penumbra
November 22, 1992	Community Accessibility	Lisa van der Steur, MN Opera
February 28, 1993	No title	Michael Wood, Indiana University, MN Composers Forum
February 20, 1994	Culture and Social Transformations between African Americans and Cuba	Robert Morris, BMETC, Macalester College
March 20, 1994	Music Program at University of Northern Iowa	Dr. Raymond Tymas-Jones, University of Northern Iowa
May 15, 1994	African-American Music in Minnesota	Judy Henderson, BMETC

Figure 12. Research Presentations at BMETC meetings.

Repertoire lists developed by Buckner, Southall, Parker, among others provide additional

examples of human capital. Organist and BMETC member Velma Warder was able to produce concerts and recitals because of information acquired from Southall's *Keyboard Music of Black Composers: A Partial Compilation* (personal communication). Members were also able to program Christmas concerts from Southall's compilation of *Choral music for Christmas* by Black American composers. Participation in conferences sponsored by MMEA and MENC provided additional opportunities for BMETC to share their knowledge and to counter stereotypes of Black music, music students, and teachers.

Structural Capital

The structural capital of BMETC is presented through its organizational processes and routines that reflect the external and internal focal points of the organization at specific points in time. This structural capital of BMETC is divided into six sections presenting the organization's constitution, mission statements, leadership, membership, meeting structure, and modes of correspondence.

Constitution

Two constitutions were found in the archives owned by Margaret LaFleur. This draft constitution is undated; the approved constitution was dated April 1981. The draft and approved constitutions contained 11 articles. The fundamental purpose of the organization was designated as "to promote Black music and Black musicians as a part of American music" ("Constitution of the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities, 1981," 1981, p. 1).

Article I, Section 1 names the organization.

Section two of Article I outlines the purposes.

1. To assist in developing young talent toward professional careers
2. To expose young black students to the opportunities available in music.
3. To provide scholarship assistance to deserving talent through competitions.
4. To offer a forum for performance by professional and student musicians.
5. To create as many performances and showcase opportunities as deemed feasible.

Article II outlines membership eligibility. Three groups are established as eligible for membership, Black music educators, students, and performers. The classification of members comprises full members (adults, post baccalaureate), associate members (non-musicians, and patrons of the arts), and student members (K-12 through graduate).

Article III establishes officers as: president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and historian. Articles IV and V outlines officer qualification and responsibilities.

Article VI and VII set elections and voting procedures. It also makes it possible for officers to be re-elected up to four terms. In Article VIII, dues are set for adults at \$10.00 and for \$5.00 for students. Article X set procedures for the use of dues and fees and empowers the board of directors to raise funds. The fiscal year is set as January to December in Article X. Procedures for voting and altering or amending the constitution with a quorum of a simple majority is outlined in Article XI.

In 1982, the constitution was changed per NANM requirements. The changes and additions included the following.

- Changing the name of the BMETC Constitution to By-Laws

- Under Article 1 Section 2: Purpose of the Organization had to include
 - To pursue those purposes set for the by the National NANM Constitution.
- Under Article 2: Membership, under the 4th category added was
 - Persons interested in promoting the purposes of BMETC.
 - The “associate” member classification was deleted.
 - Membership classification was changed to only include Full members and Student Members.
- Article 4: Qualifications of Officers (Section 2)
 - All candidates must be in good financial standing with the national and local branch of NANM.
- Article 7 Dues:
 - Dues for BMETC members shall be set annually and payable in the first month of the fiscal year.

All additions and deletions were accepted except the addition to Article 4. This addition was tabled for further discussion (March 28, 1982 Minutes). Throughout the rest of 1984 and into 1985 BMETC updated its by-laws as required by NANM. Changes have included raising membership fees, changes to member classifications, additions of officer posts, and the addition of language for the youth and junior divisions

Mission Statements

BMETC printed its story of origin in the publicity it produced for events. Accompanying the origin story were expressions of mission statements. The story of

origin remains consistent highlighting the monumental meeting between Black music teachers and Dr. Southall, the first coffee hour fellowship and the decision to meet to strategize ways to fulfill the unmet needs of Black music students. The first article delineating a mission for BMETC was dated October 1976. Titled, *Black Music Educators Organize* (1976) and written by Dr. Buckner, the article states the following as the mission of BMETC.

- a) To become a supportive force for black students in public school music programs,
- b) To seek financial and other information assistance for Black students who wanted to pursue musical careers beyond the secondary school level,
- c) To research music education topics with special emphasis on the Black perspective,
- d) To be visible in the Twin Cities and beyond in musical performances and other presentations (Buckner, 1976, pp. 13–14).

This information differs from the goals found in *BMETC: 20 Years of Highlights* (1994) created by Dr. Southall for the 1994 celebration. Here the goals are to:

- a) Provide the needed professional network with each other
- b) Promote the performance of music by Black composers
- c) Offer encouragement and monetary assistance to Afro-American youth in their musical studies.

BMETC Leadership and Organizational Structure.

Articles VI and VII of the 1981 BMETC constitution identified processes for the nomination and election of officers and limited the term of office to a total of five years. Terms of office included the original election and re-elections. Elections were held by secret ballot from a slate of nominees presented by a nomination committee. Figure 13 represents BMETC's original organizational structure.

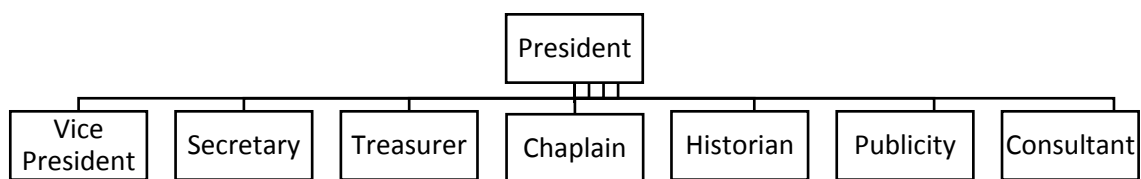


Figure 13. BMETC's Organizational Structure.

Elected officers of the Youth Division (ages 14-17), also called *NANM Youth* followed the same leadership pattern as the adult division. Officers included a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and parliamentarian. From 1982 until 1994, additional officers were added to the constitution. These additional officers included recording and assistant secretary. The duties of the recording secretary were to be a liaison between BMETC and the national NANM office supplying the national office with reports and recorded minutes. The newly formed Junior Division for ages 6-13 was announced in the January 13, 1985 minutes. The new division met every month until June on the same day as the adult membership alternating between sites in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Committees.

The proposed 1975 committee structure organized the following committee assignments, duties and members. (See Figure 14). Figures 15 and 16 show additions to the committee structure. The Music Stores Input Committee does not continue throughout the active history of the organization.

Committee	Purpose	Chair /Co-Chair	Members
Finance Committee	To broaden our financial base.	Sam Bivens	James Hamilton, Keith Cook, and Penny Martin
MMEA Overseeing Committee	To encourage involvement on the state level and to provide liaison with both organizations	Reginald T. Buckner	Luther Stripling, Anthony Elliot, Penny Martin, W. L. Jones, Joe Darby
Music Stores Input Committee	Contact music stores throughout the state to make available compositions and publication by Black composers and authors of music.	C. Edward Thomas and Sandy Jackson	Frank Wharton, Margaret LaFleur, T. White, Felix James, Shirley McClain
Scholarship Committee	To formulate scholarship policy and administer the scholarship program	Anthony Elliott	D. Bickham, P. Harris, C. Walker, Geneva H. Southall, J. Brown
Public Relations	Publicity through all media, special promotions, program advertising, etc.	Doris Terry	Geneva H. Southall, Reginald T. Buckner, Judy Henderson, D. Bickham
Constitution Committee	Purpose is not included on the list	C. Edward Thomas	Geneva H. Southall, Joe Darby, Luther Stripling, Margaret B. LaFleur, Sam Bivens

Figure 14. BMETC's Committee Structure in 1975.

Committee	Chair/Co-Chair	Members
Budget	Reginald T. Buckner	Nita Cunningham Margaret LaFleur Bob Lucas Virginia Russell Frank Wharton
Children's Division	Judy Henderson	Nita Cunningham
Constitution	Reginald T. Buckner	Gloria A. Harris Judy Henderson Margaret LaFleur Bob Lucas
Grants	Yvonne Cheek	Nita Cunningham Bob Lucas Frank Wharton
Membership	Hazel Birth	Nita Cunningham Bob Lucas
Program	Reginald T. Buckner	Yvonne Cheek Nita Cunningham Mary Easter Mary L. Haffner Velma Warder Frank Wharton
Publicity	Gloria A. Harris	Judy Henderson
Scholarship	Gloria A. Harris	Judy Henderson Margaret LaFleur Frank Wharton
Youth Division	Margaret LaFleur	Frank Wharton

Figure 15. 1984-5 Committee Structure.

Committee	Chair/Co-Chair	Members
Buckner Scholarship	Margaret LaFleur	Marvaleen Atlas Louis J. Wilson Elise Lyle Virginia Russell
Junior Division	Judy Henderson	

Figure 16. Additions to committee structure (1990).

BMETC Membership.

From 1974-1981 BMETC membership to was open to performers, composers, music teachers, and students at all performance and academic levels. With the 1981 Constitution, Article II defines those eligible for membership as Black musicians and music students. Membership was categorized under three headings, Full, Associate, and Student. Annual fees, due September 1 was \$10.00 for Full and Associate Members and \$5.00 for Students. The provision was made for forfeiture and reinstatement of membership was failure to pay dues. “Reinstatement may be made only after payment of all dues” (“Constitution of the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities, 1981,” 1981, p. 1).

As a branch of NANM, BMETC organized three divisions, adult, youth, and junior. Alternatively called, *NANM Youth Club*, *BMETC/NANM Youth*, and *Youth Branch*, a youth membership group (ages 12-18) was organized in 1982. In 1984, a *Children’s Division*, or *Junior Division* was organized for children ages 6-12. Both groups met monthly and participated in concerts and fundraisers that allowed them to compete at the national level in competitions held as part of NANM’s Bi-Annual national conferences. The groups were overseen by BMETC sub-committees. Members of the youth and junior division attended meetings, prepared and gave reports, and performed at

full-BMETC meetings. It is unclear if dues were regularly collected from children and youth. Twenty-five children were reported to have been enrolled in the youth division (LaFleur, 1982).

BMETC Meeting Structure.

A typical full-membership meeting included the following agenda categories: Meditation, Additions to the Agenda, Minutes, Treasurer's Report, Announcements, Old Business, New Business, and Presentation. In the 1970s, membership meetings were held on the second Saturday of each month. In the 80s, a report to NANM lists the monthly meeting as the 3rd Sunday of the month. In the late 1980s, Youth Division meetings were held at the same time as adult membership meetings. Following the prepared agenda, the assembled members used parliamentary procedure to present, discuss, and vote on issues. Minutes included motions, discussion, and votes. Depending on the secretary at the time, the names of the members who presented and seconded the motion were also included. Some meeting minutes also provided the names of members in attendance and were signed by the secretary.

Meditation.

Meetings began with a devotional, prayer, or a Bible reading, and singing led by the Chaplain, and in his or her absence, by another member. While some Spirituals were sung, most often, the group sang "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" (1899) by brothers, James Weldon (1871-1938) and John Rosamond Johnson (1873-1954) colloquially called the Black American National Anthem. When in the home with a piano, the singing was

accompanied by one of the members. In the late 1990s, meetings often ended with the singing of a hymn.

Additions to the Agenda.

In this section, members added items of interest, in need of discussion, or in need of a vote on to the meeting's agenda.

Acceptance of Minutes.

Members, having read the last meeting's minutes made corrections such as spelling of names, to the minutes. If no corrections were needed acceptance of the minutes was moved, seconded, and a vote to approve was taken.

Treasurer's Report.

In the early years, treasurer's reports were made orally. The 80s distributed written treasures' reports were included with meeting minutes and agendas. Treasurer's reports included balances on bank accounts as well as updates on funds received and expenditures. During this portion of the meeting, requests for reimbursements and appeals for members to become current with their dues were made.

Announcements.

Upcoming performances, participation in workshops, and special honors received by member were shared in this portion of the meeting. Additionally, announcements of a personal nature were included in meetings and in the minutes. These announcements included weddings, funerals, births, and the graduations of members and of member's

children and grandchildren. In many cases, the assembled membership voted to send a card or flowers from the organization. In other cases, members voted to send a financial donation in the name of the member or departed relative.

Old Business.

Items from previous meetings were continued under the heading of *Old Business*. Items also included reports from NANM Conventions and Scholarship Recitals. Discussion regarding organizations and institutions with whom BMETC interacted was continued in this part of the meeting.

New Business.

The section called, *New Business* included reports of upcoming events when the support, participation, and co-sponsorship of BMETC was sought. Discussion continued on items from past meetings.

Presentations.

Music, research, and personal experiences were shared as part of the agenda item, *Presentations*. Adult, youth, and junior members were featured performers. Under this heading, opportunities for professional development were offered. A synopsis of the presentation was included as a part of the next meeting's minutes. In some cases, written presentations of research were included with minutes. Performances of music also occurred near the beginning and prior to oral presentations. These were not organized under a heading.

Meeting Venues.

The meetings venues included the University of Minnesota, member homes, offices of non-profits and churches, community organizations, and for-profit venues such as Walker-West Music Academy. Due to the variety of locations, meeting sites included not just the Twin Cities but suburbs as well. (See Figure 17).

Date	Venue	Location
1974-1982	University of MN Afro-American Studies Department Multi-Purpose Room	Minneapolis
1983-	*Member Homes	Throughout Twin Cities and state
1983-4	African American Cultural Center	2429 South 8th Street Minneapolis
1986-1990s	Park Avenue UMC	3400 Park Ave. S. Minneapolis
	Walker-West Music Academy	760 Selby Avenue Saint Paul
1989-	St. Thomas Episcopal	440 4th Ave. S. Minneapolis
	St. James AME	624 Central Ave. W. St. Paul
	Walker-West Music Academy	760 Selby Avenue Saint Paul
1990s	Oak Park Community Center	1701 Oak Park Minneapolis
	Mt. Olivet Baptist Church	451 Central Ave. W. St. Paul

Figure 17. Meeting venues 1974-1994

Communications.

Members received agendas, minutes, and enclosed documents through the United States Postal Service. The agendas and minutes were also included in news articles submitted to St. Paul Recorder, and the Minneapolis Spokesman-Recorder, Twin Cities' Black newspapers. In the early years 1984-1975, the correspondence most often appeared on University of Minnesota letterhead from the Department of Afro-American Studies.

Southall's letters included personal congratulations, announcements, updates on member's careers, and a welcome to potential new members. Letters from BMETC's presidents and committee chairs often appears using professional letterhead from the organizations with whom they were affiliated.

Correspondence from youth thanking BMETC members for their assistance and the organization for scholarships received also appear in the archives. Letters were also found from culture-producing organizations thanking BMETC for support provided in the form of guest presentations, musical performances and co-sponsorships.

The archives also include handwritten and typed letters to culture-producing and educational organizations. Included in this type of correspondence are letters to Dale Warland of the Dale Warland Singers, Officers of MENC and MMEA, MN Opera, the Schubert Club, the Minneapolis Public School system, and the Metropolitan Cultural Art Center, among others. The content and the mood of this correspondence varies. BMETC prioritized holding organizations and institutions accountable for the ways they perpetuated racism. Pressure was placed on these groups to make decisions that considered a variety of perspective view, experiences, and an enlarge service area. In addition to pressure, BMETC offered recommendation and the benefit of their combined training, experience, and expertise.

Private home addresses and places of business (schools, organizations) were used as the contact address for the organization until 1984. In 1984, the address for public correspondence used the address of P.O. #19133, Minneapolis, MN 55419. A new BMETC logo and stationary was also developed and approved. The logos appeared on

correspondence and promotional materials.

Youth Structural Capital.

Youth also produced structural capital as a part of their membership in BMETC. The Youth Division had elected officers, held meetings, raised funds, and participated in regional and national NANM conventions. They also provided community service performing for community events. There were no meeting minutes found for Youth or Junior Division meetings within the archives being researched. Youth leaders further distinguished themselves nationally in NANM.

Clara Carter “Outstanding Youth Award” (1985)

Kevelyn McKinney “Outstanding Youth Award (1986)

Patrick Davis “Distinguished Achievement Certificate” (1986)

Tanya Turner, Distinguished Achievement Award (1987)

Jamilla LaFleur elected “National Jr. Secretary” 1988 and received “Outstanding Jr. Award” (1988)

Jamilla LaFleur elected National Junior President of NANM (1989)

Destin Jumelle-y-Picokens Alleda Ward Wells Outstanding Leadership Award (1991)

Tracey Buckner, President National Jr. Directors Award Plaque (1991)

Customer Capital

BMETC was prolific in its creation and dissemination of customer capital.

Internal customer capital was created within BMETC among its adult, youth, and junior

division members. External capital was produced individually and corporately by developing and maintaining relationships throughout an extensive web of institutions, organizations and communities. (See Figure 18). This section of the chapter 5 is organized into two sections.

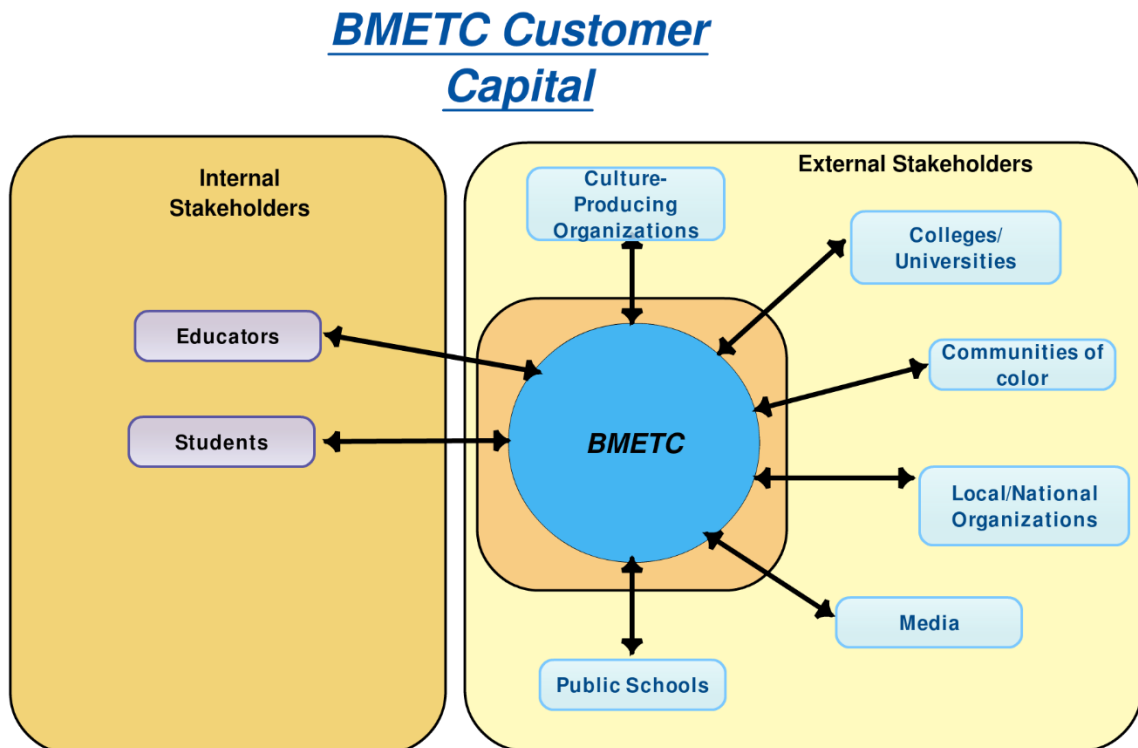


Figure 18. Customer Capital



Customer Capital (Internal).

BMETC Adult Members.

Many of the relationships developed among BMETC's adult members continue to the present time. Rotating meetings in member's homes, participation in annual holiday dinners, and attendance at conventions and workshops developed these relationships.

These relationships were further strengthened through cards, gifts, flowers, and letters of support and congratulations. A “buddy system” was set up by the organization wherein members called their “buddy” before meetings as a reminder. Members supported each other through their grief. An example of this is the corporate support of one another following the death of BMETC president Reginald T. Buckner. A *Memorial Tribute* to “help members collectively express their own grief, pass the torch of leadership to the Vice President and have a “circle of love” around Sharon Buckner and her family” (Southall, 1989) was organized for Monday, March 6, 1989 at the Radisson University Hotel (Minneapolis). The event ended with the assembled group who encircled the Buckners and joined in the singing of “That’s What Friends Are For.”

Adult members of BMETC had within their colleagues, performers who were apt consultants, supportive audiences, additional publicity, and additional performers. With the assistance of BMETC members, Luther Stripling produced the Scott Joplin opera, *Treemonisha* (1975) at Macalester College. BMETC members further supported Stripling’s production by attending and publicizing it at their schools, churches, and in their communities. Members, Shirley McClain (Ramsey Jr. High St. Paul) and Margaret B. LaFleur joined students from Macalester and members of the Twin Cities community as performers (LaFleur, 1976b).

Two new music ensembles were formed because of membership and the relationships created in BMETC. The *Twin Cities Black Flute Society* (1983) was comprised of BMETC members Frank Wharton, Linda Parker, Nita Cunningham, G. Dwight Hamilton, Valerie M. Sample, Holly Berry, Traci Bransford, and Felix E. James.

Their first annual recital was held May 15, 1983. The recital featured solos, duets, and trios performing works for a variety of genres. *The Women of Class Trio* was formed in the 1980s. It was billed as “A Twin Cities-based Ensemble performing a variety of music written from the 1800’s to the present day for piano, flute and oboe with special emphasis given to the presentation of works by composers of African descent” (“Brochure: Women of Class,” n.d.). Its members, Southall (piano), Diane Washington (oboe), and Faye Washington (flute) performed throughout the country. (See Figure 19).

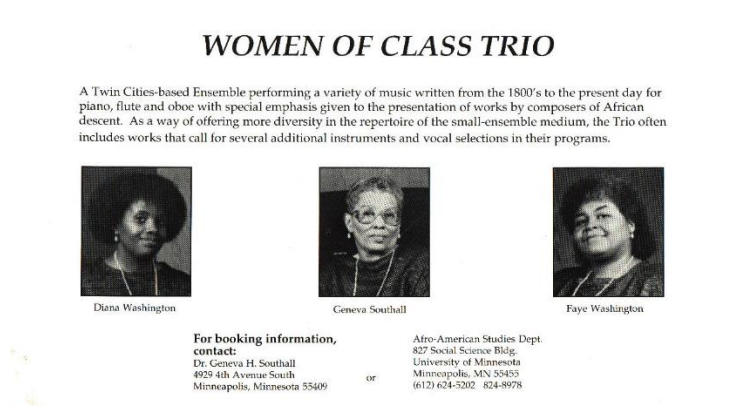


Figure 19. Women of Class publicity postcard

Through their participation in regional and national conventions sponsored by NANM, MENC and AAMOA, BMETC adult members gained support and increased their knowledge of music. They gained valuable knowledge from performers, conductors, coaches, and educators located all over the United States. Members were provided a national stage as conductors and performers. Their ability to create structural capital was increased when BMETC members were elected to national boards. Margaret LaFleur was appointed director of National Choirs, and Geneva Southall was elected Director of

Research (80s) and Director of Scholarships (90s).

BMETC members were also recommended and nominated by the organization to receive awards locally, regionally, and nationally. Several BMETC members received awards from *The Twin Cities Black Music Awards* and from NANM. Reports given by convention attendees appear in meeting minutes and contribute evidence of the effect attending these conferences had on adult, youth and junior members. Frank Wharton, reported he was “energized by the experience of the NANM conference. It was an experience that surpassed his greatest expectation” (LaFleur, 1982, p. 2).

Members supported each other in the development of individual human capital through scholarly presentations and performances. BMETC members, Southall and Buckner, provided members with bibliographies of choral music by Black composers for Christmas (1981) and published and unpublished works by African American composers (Buckner, 1981). These repertoire lists equipped members with information and knowledge from which to make intentional decisions when planning concerts and recitals.

BMETC Student Members.

College-aged adults, teenagers, and children were given opportunities to develop human, structural and customer capital through their membership in BMETC. They also benefit via their relationship to the organization through their parents and grandparents who were adult members. Students of all ages received informal and formal mentoring, and had role models of successful musicians, teachers, and composers. Their abilities as musicians were honed through performances and competitions to earn scholarships to

continue their private study or to fund, in part, their academic studies in higher education. Attending field trips to professional performances, youth and children were also given opportunities to experience professional performances of prominent musicians in the field of Western Art Music. BMETC funded low-cost and free field trips to professional performances. They also provided transportation to these events. Founding member, Anthony Elliot, African American Principal Cellist, provided 100 free tickets to BMETC. The comped tickets made it possible for students and BMETC adults who accompanied them to attend his debut performance as soloist with Minnesota Orchestra April 18-19, 1975.

Through BMETC's affiliation with NANM, MMEA and MENC, students performed on local, regional, and national stages that formed the foundation for later careers. The relationships built with students occurred whether or not students ultimately became members of BMETC because for many, their public school teachers were members. Within BMETC, students developed relationships with one another and with the adult chapter. These relationships are evidenced in letters primarily from Southall to the students and letters from students to BMETC members.

BMETC sponsored students at regional and national competitions, providing coaching, and arranging local adjudicated performances. In 1991, U of M graduate students Dawn Padmore and Ramona Merritt were sponsored by BMETC to participate in NANM. A special concert was organized for Padmore and Merritt to provide their local adjudications. Adjudicators were recruited and paid to participate. After completion of the local adjudication, BMETC provided funds so that she and Merritt could travel to

the Regional and National conferences.

Concert and recital programs document additional ways relationships between youth and adult members were formed and maintained. BMETC adult members accompanied many of the students performing. Others were coached by BMETC members. Still, others performed in duets with adult members and as part of ensembles directed by adult members. By the mid-1980s, students were presented in youth concerts. Twenty college and youth members participated in the 1985 “Musical Extravaganza.” Mary Haffner, Margaret LaFleur, Geneva Southall, and Reginald Buckner accompanied them. The concert held on August 4 closed with a reception sponsored by the adult Branch at St. James A.M.E. Church (Minneapolis).

Through concerts, scholarship recitals, and participation in NANM competitions students learned standard repertoire from the Western Art Music canon and repertoire by Black composers. NANM competitions require selections that highlight the contributions of African-American composers. A personal communication with Patricia “Tisch” Jones yielded the benefit. Her children, grandchildren of Geneva Southall were able to participate in NANM because of Southall.

For my children, who lived in Iowa, it provided a chance to always play with other black children in orchestras. Because when you’re the only black person in an orchestra, you always kinda feel by yourself, so my children had a chance in the summer to go to NANM and be in orchestra and play the music by Black Americans (personal communication with Tisch Jones August 25, 2016).

In BMETC performances, students were also encouraged to perform works from

jazz, pop, and Gospel genres in addition to their work in Western Art Music. In the 1985 concert, pieces from Prince, George Winston, Moszkowski, and Bach appear alongside works by Boatner, Prince, Swanson, da Cosa, and Billy Preston. An additional benefit to students involved in BMETC were opportunities to continue their music studies as private music students and as college music students. Three scholarship funds allowed students to continue their studies at the college and university level. Two scholarships were given to music majors. The Reginald T. Buckner Scholarship was designed for music majors and minors. (See Figure 20).

Scholarships	Tuition	Geneva H. Southall	Reginald T. Buckner
1980	Zara Turner (Oberlin)	Robin Berry	
1981	Sanford Moore (U of M)		
1982	Lloyd Winfield (U of M)		
1984	Kevelyn McKinney (Jackson State)		
1987	Melonie Poe (Howard University)		
1987	Jeffrey Allen (St. Cloud State)		
1988	Angie Robertson		
1992			Cerise Washington (Hampton Institute) Daniel Williams (Northwestern University)
1994			Marcus Walker (Memphis State University)

Figure 20. Scholarship Winners 1980-1994.

Customer Capital (External)

Students.

As an organization, BMETC worked to counter the effects of racism and to close the achievement gap in music education. Reginald Buckner prioritized the unmet needs of high school music students in his work as an educator and as a part of his membership in BMETC. His concerns and those of W. Rayford Johnson who was volunteering his time, tutoring Black music students in Music Theory were in alignment with BMETC's priorities. "BMETC has as its major priority to find ways to counteract the subtle racist rip-off tactics in the pre-college music education curriculum and performance areas" ("Music workshop is underway,' 12 February 1976, TCC, Box 3 Scrapbook, Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities, Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities: An Inventory of Their Records, MNHS, St. Paul, MN," n.d.). Two workshops introducing high school music students to college admissions procedures and policies were organized in 1976 and 1980. The first of these was called *Go to College*. The first introduced students to admissions policies for music majors in higher education. The workshop, held at Central High School (St. Paul), featured musical performances by BMETC members, youth and adult, and music groups from public schools. Present were representatives from 4-year institutions who facilitated workshops. The second was called *Workshop for Black Music Students* (1980) and was held in Scott Hall at the University of Minnesota.

Project Music Power was a cultural program designed for minority youth, the project educated youth about the music of Black Americans, creating opportunities for youth to study privately Western Art Music and Jazz improvisation. Students participated

in solo and ensemble performance opportunities, sessions in arranging, master classes, field trips to professional performances, and lecture classes covering various topics in Black Music, Music careers, Black dance, concert etiquette, and leadership. The program was funded through grants totaling \$60,000. Over the three years the program was in existence, there were as many as 30 participating per semester. The grant provided money allowing 20 students and their parents per event to attend professional performances at Orchestra Hall, the Ordway, and the Children's Theater. Students were also provided instrument repair.

Avocational Musicians.

BMETC membership included those trained in music but for whom music performance was not their primary occupation. In 1979, Southall worked to bring musicians who had ceased performing back into performance. This topic is discussed in an April 24, 1979, memo. "...we want to begin to use the organization as a means of having some place for those performers who had been active in their college days but find themselves in non-musical occupations" (Southall, 1979b, p. 2). This represents an extension of BMETC's stated mission. Southall identified this as a way to strengthen the ties the organization has to the community. To extend performance opportunities to avocational musicians, BMETC members were encouraged to send the names of avocational musicians to O'Neill Sanford.

Public Schools.

BMETC used its influence to address events occurring in the public school

system. For example, when Governor Rudy Perpich announced plans for a Minnesota School for the Arts in 1984, BMETC noticed the concerns of Black music teachers absent from the representation on the 15-member panel. "We feel sure that you have attempted to get an inclusive representation of our State's people. However, it is a serious omission to exclude the interests of the black community. The black community of this state also has individuals and groups interested in the performing arts. One group, The Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities (BMETC), has been active for nine years" (LaFleur, 1984). The letter presented the names of Dr. Rosa A. Smith, then Consultant for the Arts of the St. Paul Public School and Anita Cunningham, BMETC member and music educator as potential panel members.

BMETC intervened when informed the music position at North Sr. High School (Minneapolis) was being reduced from full-time to an eight/tenths position. BMETC President Reginald Buckner penned a letter on behalf of the organization to Minneapolis Public Schools Superintendent Richard Green, Marilyn Borea, School Board Chair, Fred Sheridan, North Area Superintendent, Jerry Simondet, Principal, Al Fischer, Music Consultant, and Susan Vaughn, MN State Department of Education Music Specialist. An excerpt of the letter dated September 9, 1980, follows.

Although we are deeply concerned as educators with all Twin Cities' youth, we do have a special interest in black students. One of the main reasons why a group of black music educators organized in 1974 was because of evidence of institutionalized racism in the discipline of music education. As a University of Minnesota music professor who has been supervising student teachers throughout

the entire Twin Cities areas since 1971, I can say there is a visible absence of black students in secondary school bands, orchestras, and choirs. Knowing that North High School is one of the high schools with the largest black student population we are concerned that the move to lessen the music position stifle (sic) and also reduces the chances for black students to continue their involvement in the serious study of music. As you can see, the purpose of this letter has been to inform you about our concerts, to acquaint you with some of the outstanding and recent trends that are happening in black music and to let you know that this organization stands ready to assist you and the Board in helping to provide quality education for your students; and rest assured, music must be fully staffed and offered at all levels of the K-12 curriculum. We know education is faced with many financial problems. However, if BMETC can be of assistance to the Minneapolis Public School music program, please do not hesitate to seek our assistance (Reginald T. Buckner, 1980).

Communities.

Adult, youth, and children members of BMETC served members of multiple communities through performances as support of arts education. They also included within their web of influence community organizations such as the NAACP, the Urban League, sororities and fraternities, and churches. One example is evidenced in W. Rayford Johnson's Music of Black Composers concerts. These annual concerts served most immediately, the Highland Park community of St. Paul. The repertoire of Black composers was presented in multiple genres and through varied performance groups.

Participants in the concerts included student musical ensembles, professional musicians from the Twin Cities' communities, students and faculty from the U of M and BMETC members as consultants and guest speakers.

Colleges and Universities.

Adult and student members of the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities participated as faculty, graduate and undergraduate students at universities and colleges throughout Minnesota. Through BMETC's associations with NANM and BMC, this academic network included colleges and universities throughout the country.

University of Minnesota.

Drs. Southall and Buckner served on the faculty of the University of Minnesota. They held joint appointments in the African/African American Studies Department and the School of Music. Because of their appointments and the historical relationship between the African/African American Studies Department and the Black communities of the Twin Cities, the resources of the university were available to help Black music teachers organize the BMETC. This symbiotic relationship benefitted the University as well.

A benefit to the U of M can be seen in the numbers of Black students at the undergraduate and graduate levels recruited to the School of Music and Afro-Studies department. Members of BMETC also participated in at least one scholarship fundraiser sponsored by the U of M School of Music. BMETC assisted with the appointment of a new Director of Marching Bands. In 1976, O'Neill Sanford was appointed as the first

Black director of Marching Bands. Sanford served at the University of Minnesota from 1976 to 1985.



Figure 21. Reprinted from Margaret LaFleur Personal Archives

U of M students benefitted from the visits of major Black composers, conductors, and performers. Dr. Otis Simmons (1924-2015) spoke to students in the MUED 3331 course taught by Buckner. The basis of his speech was his book, *Teaching Music in Urban Schools* (1975). Students in AFRO 5201: Black Composers, taught by Southall were treated to a reading-performance of Roger Donald Dickerson's (b. 1934) "A Musical Service of Louis." Dickerson conducted the University of Minnesota student orchestra. The AFRO 5201 course also had a visit from nationally acclaimed composer T. J. Anderson. The orchestra participated in reading performances of "Squares: and "Etudes" (1977). Jazz vocalist, Nettie Hayes visited AFRO 3301. Pictured in a photo taken during that visit are Geneva Southall, W. Rayford Johnson, Nettie Hayes, and

Reginald Buckner. (See Figure 21).



Figure 22. Composer, Roger Dickerson at the University of Minnesota

Arguably, the most significant and longest lasting benefit to the University of Minnesota is Reginald Buckner's annual Martin Luther King Memorial Concert (MLK). From 1982 until his death in 1989, BMETC members participated as performers, composers, and ensemble directors. Members originally performing as the Reginald Buckner Quartet re-named the group, the Buckner Memorial Ensemble following Buckner's death. They continued to perform as part of the MLK event until 1994. The schedule of performers is presented in Figure 23 as found on the Office of Equity and Diversity website. The asterisked performers were members of BMETC.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Performers</i>
Jan 22 1982	Northrop	*Reginald Buckner Quartet, Twin Cities Mass Choir, U of M Brass Ensemble
Jan 23 1983	Northrop	*Reginald Buckner Quartet, *Twin Cities Mass Choir U of M Brass
Jan 8 1984	Northrop	Minnesota Brass *Uchawi Dancers *Zion Baptist Church Senior and Inspirational Choirs, *University of Minnesota Brass Group *Buckner Quartet Dennis Spears Warren C. Bowles Dr. Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., Director of the Center for Black Music Research, guest speaker
Jan 6 1985	Northrop	Buckner Quartet * The Minnesota State Baptist Convention Choir Dr. Zelma Watson George, Former Alternate Delegate to United Nations General Assembly, guest speaker
Jan 19 1986	Northrop	U of M Brass *Reginald Buckner Quartet, Noel Pointer, Jazz violinist and record producer John Amos (actor) guest speaker
Jan 18 1987	Northrop	U of M Brass *Reginald Buckner Quartet Ruby Dee (actor), guest speaker
Jan 17 1988	Northrop	*Reginald Buckner Quartet Maya Angelou (poet and author), guest speaker
Jan 15 1989	Northrop	*Reginald Buckner Quartet Geoffrey Lamont Holder (actor), guest speaker
Jan 14 1990	Northrop	Penumbra Theatre Company
Jan 20 1991	Northrop	*Buckner Memorial Ensemble Penumbra Theatre Company
Jan 19 1992	Northrop	*Buckner Memorial Ensemble Penumbra Theatre Company *Minneapolis Gospel Sound Bell Congo
1993		No information listed
Jan 16 1994	Ted Mann	The Steeles T. Mychael Rambo * Buckner Memorial Ensemble

Figure 23. Martin Luther King Memorial Concert Schedule 1982-1994. Information compiled from the Office of Equity and Diversity website at the University of Minnesota.

As an act of intervention, BMETC sought to ensure Buckner's legacy as an educator. The membership wrote to Fred Luckerman, dean of the School of Music to press for a search that would yield a qualified faculty member to replace Buckner. Their concerns are reprinted.

The unique talent Dr. Buckner brought to the U of M will make this selection difficult. To assist you in your development of a job description we feel you need to address certain issues. To show respect and to honor the goals Dr. Buckner strived for, we feel the position should be filled with a person that has a Jazz history as well as Afro Studies background. This person should be involved equally in Music Education and performance, since this was a key component of Dr. Buckner's (sic) teaching philosophy." A scholar with applied keyboard skills as well as a history of strong research in Afro and Jazz studies would be ideal (Brown, 1989).

As a result of BMETC's efforts, Ronald C. McCurdy was hired as a professor serving a joint position with the School of Music and the African/African-American Studies department. Under his leadership (1990-1999), the dream of Buckner to have a full-fledged Jazz Studies program was realized and McCurdy was appointed Director of Jazz Studies.

A benefit to BMETC, The African/African American Studies department provided a central meeting venue in its formative years. Before organizational letterhead was developed, correspondence between Southall and BMETC members appeared on Afro-American/African Studies department letterhead. Northrup, Scott, Ferguson halls,

and Ted Mann Concert Hall served as venues for guest speakers and performances.

Students and faculty from the School of Music performed with and for BMETC members at events sponsored by BMETC. School of Music faculty members, Mark Bjork, Lloyd Ultan, and Susan McClary presented research at BMETC meetings. An additional benefit to U of M students was through their participation in BMETC. As undergraduates and graduates of the University of Minnesota and BMETC members, students participated as performers for BMETC events and were involved in planning and executing events. W. Rayford Johnson and Margaret LaFleur served on the University of Minnesota Music Education Advisory Committee and as presidents of BMETC.

The list of graduate students gleaned from BMETC archives includes:

1970s: B. Dexter Allgood, M.Ed. in Music Education, (clarinet), Reginald T. Buckner, PhD Music with Emphasis in Education (1974: piano and organ), Gary D. Hines M.A., Theater, Linda Parker, PhD Music Education (flute), Rebecca Brown, MFA (organ), Deborah Pitts, M. A., Mamie Maye, M.A., Doris Terry. M.Ed. (voice), Tim Olson M.Ed., Lonnie Roach, M.Ed., Eilene Gates, M.Ed., Tom Teeter, M.Ed., Claudia Evarts, M.A., Horace Lama, M.A., Music Education, Velma Warder, Elementary Education, Lester Monts

1980s: Margaret LaFleur, MA Music Education (piano), Larry Griffin, M.M. and D.M.A (trumpet), Sanford Moore, B.A. (piano), Charles N. Bates M.A. and M. Ed., Aura Tovar Music Therapy, Ronald R. Brown B.S. Music Education (guitar), Diana Washington, MFA, (oboe), Rosa Smith, Ph.D. Education Administration, Oliver Spended, Ph.D., Education Administration, Charles Bates, Mel Coleman, W. Rayford

Johnson, M.A. Education, 1984 (tuba)

1990s: Dawn Padmore, M.M. (voice), Derrick Pennix, (1961-2015) M.M., Ph.D. (voice), Ramona Merritt, M.M. (viola), Denise Myers (voice) PhD

Unidentified years: Marcelene Black (voice), Adriana Depps, Kathryn Duckett, Virginia B. Russell, Elise D. Lyle, Michael Mazyck

Additional Colleges and Universities.

BMETC members included faculty members with careers in departments other than music. Dr. James F. Condell (1921-1998), an avocational musician, taught in the psychology department at Moorhead State College, in Moorhead, MN (1965-1992). Condell requested information to become a member of BMETC in a letter dated June 7, 1976. The response, dated June 10 written by Southall said the request was “happily received” (Southall, 1976). It is of interest to note Dr. Condell was a clinical psychologist, scholar, educator, Jazz researcher, author, and musician. His credits include a Jazz radio program, *A Little Jazz Music* and *Condell's Corner* airing on KCCM 91.1 FM radio in Moorhead, Minnesota and KDSU 91.1 in Fargo, North Dakota. He further Kansas City Jazz Legend, Jay McShann with the writing of his autobiography. His archives, The *James F. Condell Collection* are housed at the University of Missouri in Kansas City, MO as part of the LaBudde Special Collections.

The faculty and students from the colleges of Bethel (St. Paul), Carleton (Northfield) and Macalester (St. Paul) also benefitted from direct or indirect involvement with BMETC creating additional customer capital. With the assistance of BMETC members, Luther Stripling produced the Scott Joplin opera, *Treemonisha* (1975).

Stripling received assistance in the form of recommendations of choreographers and directors. The performances were supported through attendance and publicity. The performance group of the opera was enhanced by the participation of BMETC members, Shirley McClain (Ramsey Jr. High St. Paul) and Margaret B. LaFleur were (LaFleur, 1976b).

Students from area colleges and universities were invited as guests to the December 13, 1975, meeting to increase adult members' knowledge of the challenges facing current college/university music students. They were asked to share their experiences as Black students in higher education music programs. Students highlighted the invisibility of Black composers and compositions within their course of studies and the difficulties faced meeting performance standards for admission. They described the inability to pay major coaches and private teachers, whose names present on their application would yield positive audition results. One student shared how his slow reading music abilities prevented him from being able to participate in ensembles. Another student shared the repertoire required for participation in the Jazz Ensemble was not Jazz but from Western Art Music. Students also shared when they achieved seats in ensembles; they were not made to feel welcome. These concerns fueled the desire of BMETC to provide support to students intending to continue their musical studies beyond high school and to provide mentorship and fellowship with undergraduate and graduate students. From this point, forward students at the undergraduate and graduate level were regularly provided support in the form of invitations to meetings and events (LaFleur, 1975a).

Culture-Producing Organizations.

As a group of performers, BMETC created and maintained relationships with culture-producing organizations in the Twin Cities. Through these relationships, BMETC's influence and visibility increased. At times, these relationships were adversarial. Despite this, the outcome of the relationship typically resulted in collaborations. These organizations included orchestras, choirs, opera companies, and non-profit arts organizations. As their visibility increased, BMETC was called upon to co-sponsor events featuring Black performance groups or performances of Black music.

Metropolitan Cultural Arts Center (MCAC)

Roy Locket organized the Metropolitan Cultural Arts Center in 1968. Its mission was to provide training in all the arts to people in the inner city who could not afford to get it otherwise and to foster cross-cultural understanding (Newsom, 1978). The Shoestring Playhouse (1970-1980), an offshoot of MCAC used the arts to bring people of different races together and provided expressive opportunities, particularly for African Americans. Illustrious teachers at MCAC include Gene Adams (1937-2005) who performed with Eddie Harris (1934-1996) and Don Ellis (1934-1978) and became the assistant band director at the old Lincoln Junior High in Minneapolis, during which time Prince was a student.

At the June 1975 BMETC membership meeting, member Felix James (Washington High School, West St. Paul), solicited support for MCAC's Music Writing Project. The goal of the project was to introduce educational techniques derived from the Black music experience to elementary-aged students. In a letter of support, dated June

21st, President Johnson identified the project as being one of “strong will, determination, and of the utmost in (sic) importance in helping to alleviate (sic) the obvious omission of the Black Music experience from music curriculum materials and classrooms across the board” (Johnson, 1975). James asked for further support from members in the form of participants and advisers to the children. BMETC members supported the project and the Metropolitan Cultural Arts Center (MCAC) by participating on the Board of Directors (“Press release, "Twin Cities Black Music Educators Organize," 18 July 1975).

BMETC members, Felix James (project director), LaFleur, Craig Peterson, Buckner, and Southall supported another MCAC program, Dynamics of Black Music. The yearlong program, co-sponsored by the Urban Arts Program of the Minneapolis Public School System, included a six-week program in which fourth, fifth, and sixth-grade students learned musical instrumental from Black professional musicians. The program started on June 14 and was held at Franklin Junior High School in Minneapolis. (“Article, ‘School Children Offered Black Music Instructor,’ 1976)

Minnesota Orchestra.

Founded as the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, the Minnesota Orchestra gave its inaugural performance in 1901. Its mission is to “enrich, inspire and serve our community as a symphony orchestra internationally recognized for its artistic excellence” (Minnesota Orchestra Mission and History, 2016). It has been known as the Minnesota Orchestra since 1968, presenting home concerts in Orchestra Hall, located in downtown Minneapolis. When it was discovered Neville Mariner, Music Director of the Minnesota Orchestra (1979-1986) scheduled a series of concerts on British Composers for the 1985-

86 series. Dr. Southall noted Mariner had not included British composers of African extraction, like Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (1875-1912). Mariner was contacted and responded with “great embarrassment” about not knowing about Coleridge-Taylor. This contact with MN Orchestra confirmed BMETC’s mission. Mr. Mariner’s response truly allows us to see the need for organizations such as ours to defend and re-educate those who must be made aware of the importance of the inclusion of Black composers who have and are writing in the symphonic style of music (LaFleur, 1985, p. 2).

Saint Paul Chamber Orchestra (SPCO).

The Saint Paul Chamber Orchestra (SPCO) was organized in 1959. Its first concert was presented on November 18 of that year. Leonard Sipe (1959-1971), Dennis Russell Davies (1972-1980), Pinchas Zukerman (1980-87) and Hugh Wolff (1992-2000) have led the Orchestra. The SPCO is credited as being the only full-time chamber orchestra in the United States. Its mission is to “present a world-class professional orchestra in the Twin Cities, dedicated to superior performance, and artistic innovation and education, for the enrichment of community and world audiences” (“St. Paul Chamber Orchestra: About Us,” 1998).

“If Zubin Mehta can take the New York Philharmonic to Harlem, why can’t the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra play a concert in its hometown’s black community?” (Protzman, 1981 p. 5b). BMETC member Lorraine Martin (Cleveland Jr. High St. Paul) uttered the above quote when her husband, serving on the Winter Carnival Board of Directors, asked if she had any ideas for the 1981 Winter Carnival. Martin’s husband presented the idea to the board. According to Martin, the board was not interested until

BMETC adopted the project.

For the first time since becoming a professional orchestra in 1967, the SPCO performed in the Black community and performed works by composers of African American descent. The composers chosen were Hale Smith (1925-2009) and Ulysses S. Kay, Jr. (1917-1995). When asked by St. Paul Dispatch staff reporter, Bob Protzman why the SPCO hadn't performed in the Black community before, Sal Venittelli, violist and orchestra manager replied,

You're probably wondering why we don't create opportunities to play for minority groups...I'd like to be able to play a concert like this two or three times a season. But it costs a lot for us to play a concert "between \$4,200 and \$5,000, covering musician salaries, administrative function and transportation expenses (p. 5b).

Protzman noted, the Minnesota Orchestra performs in the Black community as part of its summer parks concert series. Venittelli countered, "Our season begins in September right after Labor Day and last until the first week in June. We've tried outdoors (sic) concerts, but have had to cancel them, because the weather was not warm enough for the protection of the string instruments" (p. 5b). It seems clear the SPCO would not be performing in the Black community unless the Black community raised the required funding.

Because of BMETC's work, St. Paul Mayor George Latimer proclaimed Saturday, January 31, 1981 "Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities Day." The SPCO concert was presented at Central High School (St. Paul) and was conducted by William McGlaughlin, the associate conductor. The concert was billed as a Benefit Scholarship

Concert. Buckner's letter following the event summed up the success in this way.

First of all, we have been instrumental in getting two compositions by black composers performed by an internationally-known orchestra. Secondly, we have nearly 700 people in attendance, and most importantly, many in the audience were young black kids getting exposed to this music. Third, it is my project we will be able to pay the bills plus have some left over for scholarship. Many people who spoke to me indicated that they are "starved" for more BMETC Productions.

President Buckner closes with this charge. "Members! We must take the musical leadership in our Twin Cities' Black Community" (Buckner, 1981, p. 1).

Lorraine Martin explained the importance of the SPCO concert to Black music students and to BMETC.

We need this concert to encourage blacks to study music to show them that there can be a career in classical music for blacks, to tell them that its all right to like classical music as well as gospel and jazz...if we don't have enough money to provide full scholarships, at least we can help pay for someone's lessons, which are very expensive (Protzman, 1981, p. 5B).

Because Southall's interest and involvement in music was known, members of Electas asked her to assist them with making Maestro Curry's visit pleasant and to "perhaps influence his decision to move to Minnesota" (Rawlings & Shockley, 1983, p. 1). Curry was hired as the new Resident Conductor of the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra and served from 1983 to 1985.

Minnesota Opera.

In 1963, the Walker Art Center commissioned Dominick Argento (b. 1927) to compose *The Masque of Angels* for its performance arts program. The Center Opera was formed to perform it. The company focused on the composition and performance of new works new American composers. Center Opera became independent from the Walker Art Center in 1963 and in 1971 changed its name to Minnesota Opera. The St. Paul Civic Opera organized in 1933 become the St. Paul Opera in 1968. In 1976, Minnesota Opera merged with the St. Paul Opera.

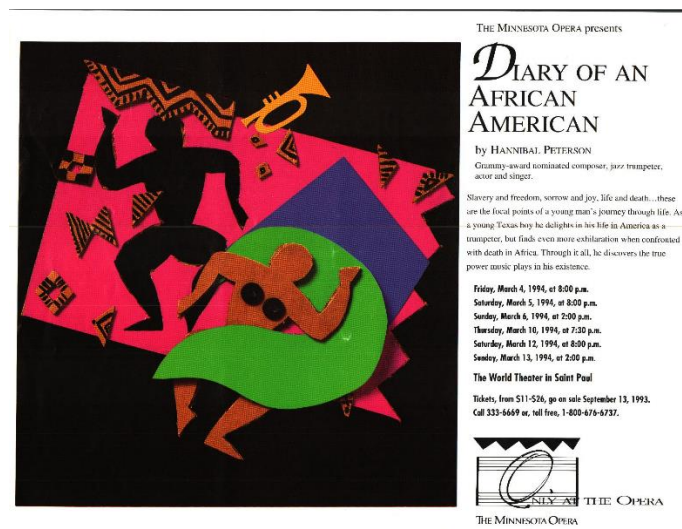


Figure 24. Publicity Card for Diary of an African American

The Junior and Youth Divisions of BMETC co-sponsored a reception with Minnesota Opera in 1993, honoring Hannibal Lokumbe, né Hannibal Marvin Peterson (b. 1948). A Jazz trumpeter and composer, Hannibal was presenting his work, *Diary of an African American* with the Minnesota Opera. (See Figure 24). Before the reception on Friday, November 19, 1993, Peterson presented a workshop for BMETC youth.

Schubert Club.

Marion Ramsey Furness, daughter of then-Governor Alexander Ramsey, was one of a group of music-loving women who organized in 1882 a club they called “The Ladies Musicale.” Later the name was changed to honor composer, Franz Schubert (1797-1828). The Schubert Club provides concerts, lectures, and the International Artist Series (1893). One of the oldest arts organizations in the country, the Schubert Club is credited with having presented every major international concert artist of note to its stages. Additionally, the club sponsors scholarships for music students. BMETC student member, Zara Turner won a *Schubert Club Scholarship* in 1980. This scholarship was just one of many honors for Turner from whom the mayors of St. Paul and Minneapolis Mayors named a day, “July 5, 1980, Zara Turner.” BMETC contacted the Schubert Club in response to the first Schubert Club-sponsored visit of Leontyne Price (b. 1927) in 1983. They were concerned about the lack of publicity in the Black community and recommended the Schubert Club support Black performers with publicity aimed at the Black community in the future.

On the occasion of the Leontyne Price concert at the O’Shaughnessy Auditorium on October 9, 1983, twenty members of our organization were present and were thoroughly thrilled by the magnificence of this singer’s voice. There were other members of the black community in attendance, but only a fraction of a number that would have attended had the publicity been more visible for many people were not aware that she was to be in the city. Therefore, we recommend that with future concerts that highlight black performers there be considerably more

publicity- especially aimed at the Black community so that we may experience the joy and professionalism that these performers bring to your stage (LaFleur, 1983, p. 1).

Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies (GTCYS).

The Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies (GTCYS) was founded in 1972. Its first conductor was African American William LaRue Jones. In Jones' website, he is identified as *Founder and Conductor Laureate* (2016). His contribution to GTCYS cannot be found in the History and Mission statement of the organization on its website ("Mission & History - Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies," n.d.). Over his twenty-five-year tenure, Jones guided GTYCS to international acclaim and became a model for youth symphony structures worldwide. W. Rayford Johnson, BMETC member, was appointed to Board of Directors for the GTCYS in 1975 and as Conductor of the Repertory Orchestra in 1984. An impact of the relationship between BMETC and GTCYS was the presentation of GTCYS at the April 22, 1981, MENC National Conference. Allegra Berry, BMETC student member, reflected on her experience with GTCYS in an article published in the Twin Cities Courier, April 24, 1980. The interviewer was Reginald T. Buckner.

Being a minority performer has also been quite an experience in GTCYS. As I sit in the rehearsals of my orchestra, the Philharmonia, conducted by Mr. James Berg, I often wonder about other Black student musicians who have not been exposed to an experience of this kind...It is wonderful to learn about great composers and to play their music, but great composers are not all white. Yet,

when performing with white musicians, one would think so. It would be to our advantage as well as to the advantage of white students, to study compositions by blacks who had made great contributions to the arts (Buckner, 1980a).

BMETC student member, N. Judge “Jay” King III, also expressed gratitude for the ability to work with GTCYS. “GTCYS is pretty fun. It gives me a change to use my talent as a violinist.” Jay is the son of Dr. Reatha Clark King and Dr. N. Judge King Jr. Reatha Clark King is credited with presenting the idea of having an annual concert honoring the work of Black composer to Philip Brunelle. This series has become the long-lived Witness program featured annually by Vocalessence. BMETC members individually and corporately were requested to co-sponsor events, to financially support activities, and to appear as performers at fundraisers. The Dale Warland Singers is offered as an example.

Dale Warland Singers.

The Dale Warland Singers was a 40-voice professional chorus based in St. Paul, Minnesota. The Singers were organized in 1974 and disbanded in 2004. Though Warland had never hired a Black vocalist claiming their voices were either too big, or had too much color, (June 13, 1988 minutes) he did request the assistance and co-sponsorship of the 1985 Black History Month concert featuring the Albert McNeil Jubilee Singers, a traveling troupe of between 12 and 18 with a resident group of 29, based in Los Angeles, California. Albert McNeil founded the group in 1968. Because of BMETC’s involvement, students were offered workshops and lectures by Jubilee conductor Albert McNeil. Dr. Southall served as a liaison between the Singers and the Black music

community. BMETC served as hosts to the group.

Music Education Groups.

Employment as music educators necessitated using BMETC's visibility and influence to affect changes within professional music educator organizations. This relationship-producing capital benefitted both the organization and Black music teachers in Minnesota and throughout the United States. It benefitted the organization as White members were forced to come to grips with institutional racism within their associations and in increased numbers of Black teachers within the membership, as clinicians and board members. MENC and MMEA also benefitted from the human capital produced by BMETC members. BMETC members benefitted from increased opportunities to present human capital and to acquire human capital.

MENC and MMEA.

MENC was founded in 1907 as the Music Supervisors National Conference (MSNC). From 1934-1998 the organization was known as MENC. Another name change occurred in 1998, when it became known as MENC, The National Association for Music Education. On September 1, 2011, the acronym changed from MENC to NAFME. NAFME became the legal name on March 8, 2012 (Taylor, Abeles, & Pogonoski, 1984). The MMEA, the state level affiliate of MENC, was organized in 1901 as the Music Teachers National Association (MTNA), under the auspices of the Professional League of St Paul. The BMETC had an often contentious relationship with MENC.

After attending my first Southwestern and North Central Divisional meetings of MENC in Omaha last week, I left with mixed emotions mainly because of experiencing where many of our problems originate in our profession...Although this was a divisional meeting, we are confronting the same MONSTER on the state level (Buckner, 1975, p. 1).

The monster referred to by Buckner was the absence of Black music educators involved in the planning, the invisibility of repertoire by composers of African descent, and the lack of Black music educators involved as clinicians. In the April 1975 meeting, BMETC members complained while their classes had been used as observation models, they had never been asked to appear as panelists.

With the National Black Caucus, BMETC pressured the local and national MENC to use Black music teachers as clinicians, to promote them to positions on boards and planning groups, elect them to editorial boards, and to promote the addition of music composed by Black composers in classrooms, teacher sessions, and in bands, choirs, and orchestras. This pressure was seen in letter-writing campaigns and face-to-face meetings with MENC leadership. When MENC and MMEA leadership purported the reason African Americans were not appointed to leadership positions as having no knowledge of African Americans who could be appointed, BMETC followed BMC's lead collecting and submitting membership profiles to the local and national association. Black teachers also joined MENC and MMEA in larger numbers to impact their destiny within the organization.

The success of these actions is evidenced by an increased number of Black music

teachers nominated to boards, planning groups and as clinicians. Performances of music by Black composers at conventions and clinics also increased. Reginald Buckner was elected to serve on the editorial board. Additionally, the success of BMETC's work within MMEA is evident in the appointment of BMETC member, Margaret LaFleur as Minority Awareness Officer of MMEA. In this role, LaFleur organized several sessions for the 1983 Mid-Winter In-Service Clinic. These sessions included BMETC members as clinicians for sessions which included "The Art and Techniques of Jazz Improvisation" (Buckner), "Gospel Music" (Sam Davis), "AAMOA" (C. Edward Thomas), and "Hmong Music" (Robert Lucas).

National Black Music Caucus (BMC)

BMC began as a separate meeting of Black music educators in attendance at the 1972 Bi-Annual Convention of the Music Educators National Conference (MENC) in Atlanta Georgia. W. Rayford Johnson (BMETC president 1975-1979) was in attendance and became a board member of the group. Johnson described the beginnings of the National Black Music Caucus of MENC during a meeting of former BMETC members on April 23, 2016.

We were in Atlanta for the MENC Convention and each city that hosts always has the gala for opening night. And here we are in Atlanta and every group that came on the stage to perform...there was not one African American performer. We began to get very upset with that. T.J. Anderson was there, Charles, Quincy Jones was there, Tillman from Chicago, Hortense Taylor from Washington, D.C. and they were all there. There were hundreds of us there and we all got up and walked

out into the lobby because we were so discouraged by this. And there was no organized walk out. People were just so discouraged, just got up and walked out. So we started talking about how to have a national impact on what had just happened Yvonne (Cheek) was there because she was there working on her doctorate at Michigan at the time. And Ward Carter was there, Robert Harris...I can name them all. And so we're standing there in the lobby talking and all of a sudden, here all of us are standing outside. Wendell Whalum walked up, and we started having a discussion, and he said: "Look, I will offer my choir room at Morehouse so we can continue this discussion." We left the arena there in Atlanta; people got buses, taxis, I drove. James Moody, Quincy Jones, and Anderson White all rode with me. We went over to Morehouse College. We met from 11:00 that night to about 4:00 in the morning talking about this issue. It made the news the next day. The national news that Blacks walked out of the opening night of the MENC National Convention. It wasn't a walk out. We were just so sad about what had happened. So they called it a "walk out." Actually we started the discussion that night about trying to have a national on what took place. Out of that, Yvonne and I were on the national steering committee and were involved in planning these events. We would go to St. Louis for these various meetings with the national body and that night started the discussion. Once we started BMETC and I shared with them at the next Convention in New Jersey what we were doing here, that's when it took off. And they used our model as the model for the Black Music Caucus (Williams, 2016).

BMETC members were involved with the BMC from its origins. Founding member and past president, W. Rayford Johnson served on the Steering Committee, representing the North Central Division of BMC in 1974. Yvonne Cheek, BMETC member from 1982-1994), served as vice president and president of BMC in 1984 and 1982, respectively. Though BMETC members were already heavily involved in BMC, the organization voted at the October 10 meeting of 1975 to become officially affiliated.

BMETC and Twin Cities Communities of Color.

Members of BMETC served the communities of color in St. Paul and Minneapolis in a variety of capacities. Upon request, members provided musical entertainment, served as keynote speakers, and participated as adjudicators for scholarship competitions. The national organizations with which BMETC created networks included National Association of Colored People (NAACP), the St. Paul Urban League and the Minority Issues Committee of Metro Council.

Churches.

The relationship between BMETC and the Black church is a continuation of the historical relationship between Black organizations, education, and church documented since the 1700s. Many of BMETC's teachers held dual careers as church musicians. Area churches became venues for concerts and scholarship recitals. Members of church choirs joined to participate in performances of Handel's Messiah, for the AAMOA Black Composers' Symposia, and for the University of Minnesota's Martin Luther King concerts. An ecumenical mix of Christian denominations included African Methodist

Episcopal (AME), Baptist, Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and United Methodist (UMC).

Twin Cities Media.

The practice of creating periodicals for the African American community began in 1827. These newspapers appeared throughout the 1800s serving every Black community. Simmons (2006) divided the history of the African American Press into eight distinct periods. Editor and publisher Cecil E. Newman (1903-1976) established the Minneapolis Spokesman and the St. Paul Recorder in 1934. These newspapers were founded during what Simmons calls the fifth period. News articles during this period highlighted unemployment, violence against Blacks, and unfair hiring practices. This history certainly fits the work of Newman, whose work as a Pullman Porter uniquely educated him in the struggles of Black workers. The second newspaper used by BMETC was the Twin Cities Courier (1966-1986) founded and published by the editor, Mary J. Kyle (1908-1994). Kyle became the first woman to head the Minnesota Press Club.

Rather than functioning as the publicity arm of the organization, these newspapers were used by BMETC as a primary way to communicate with members, interested parties, and the Black community. Meeting agendas and minutes were posted in the newspapers. Since these minutes discussed issues related to the public school system and other arts-producing institutions, the community was alerted to the issues facing Black teachers and music students and educated through the discussion in the membership meetings.

Television.

KARE-11, formally known as WTCN-TV Channel at one time hosted several programs for ethnic groups in the Twin Cities. In 1986, Channel 11 replaced *Harambee* (African American), *Centro Cultural Chicano* (Hispanic), and *Madagimo* (Native Americans, 1982) with one program called *Prism*. The new program was advertised as being organized to address the “concerns, issues, and lifestyles of the Hispanic, American Indian, Black, Asian, and other minority communities” (Anonymous, 1986 p. 2). Also addressed were the concerns of women, the aged, disabled, and religious communities. While *Harambee* was on the air, members of BMETC appeared on its programs as panel members and as performers. Reginald Buckner, Margaret LaFleur, and Felix James appeared on the program in July of 1980 to “discuss the state of music as it relates to Black students.” Student members Zara Turner and Holly Berry performed.

C. Edward Thomas was Assistant Director of Creative Projects at KTCA-TV in the 70s, and no doubt influenced programming in some ways. Margaret LaFleur coordinated five television shows for KTCA for public schools. LaFleur’s programs covered the following areas *Music of Africa: The Dance*, *Music of Trinidad: The Steel Drum* and a three-part series on the Music of the U.S.A. Part I: *Game Songs and Work Songs*, Part II: *Soul Music*, Part III: *Gospel Music*.

For-profit Organizations.

BMETC as a necessity developed relationships with managers and owners of hotels, restaurants, catering services, and other for-profit businesses. In some cases, these relationships were cultivated to provide for guest appearances and conventions. In other

cases, Twin Cities businesses and corporations were pressed to support BMETC activities through patronage and purchase of advertising space in convention booklets and programs.

Twin Cities Music Stores.

Music Stores Committee co-chair Sandy Jackson compiled a list of Black Music and Related Arts and a discography of Black Classical music for use in conversations with music stores. The Music Stores committee targeted the largest music stores including Groth Music (Bloomington), Cadenza (St. Paul), Schmitt (Minneapolis), and Torps (Minneapolis). No reports were found in the archives identifying the strategy or impact of this committee's work.

Customer Satisfaction.

Documentation of customer capital is next provided as evidence of customer loyalty. For the purposes of this dissertation, gratitude and continued participation will provide concrete indicators. Correspondence from students sent to BMETC members provide examples of customer satisfaction. Christine Brown was a member of the Jr. Division. Her letter to Southall followed a performance in which Dr. Southall accompanied and apparently provided mentoring and coaching.

I give all my great thanks to you for being such a wonderful piano accompanist during the recital at the Art Institute! You have inspired me by helping me with my concert. I will always try and participate in solo competition no matter what instrument I might be playing. I will always remember what I've learned from

you and will always remember you (C. Brown, 1980).

Students from the Music Education/Enrichment Project of Community Covenant Church (Minneapolis) were provided tickets to attend a concert of the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra (January 31, 1981). Denise Bogden, director of the program, asked the students to write letters of gratitude to BMETC, including in them what they learned from the experience. Excerpts from archives are presented (Bogden, 1981)

“My name is Michelle Rene Wells, and I play the flute and some piano. I really loved the St. Chamber Orchestra, one thing that I learned is that music isn’t dull it is full of life.” ~

Michelle Rene Wells

“I learned that when you want to listen to beautiful music come to the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra.” ~ Joy Quant

“I never been there before but I like the music.” John Leonard Jackson

“...this was my very first time going to a (sic) orchestra” ~ J. Jackson

“...someday I might play in the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra. I learned that there are black composers. I never knew that!” ~ Kristin Wells

In addition to gratitude, these letters document inspiration and newly acquired knowledge. Customer loyalty is also used to identify and measure customer capital. Longevity is an indicator of customer loyalty. Most of the educators that joined BMETC in the 70s and 80s were still members in 1994. This, of course, excludes those who moved out of Minnesota for other jobs like John Patton and Diana Washington, and those lost due to death like Reginald Buckner. There, were, of course, some members for whom BMETC no longer filled needs. W. Rayford Johnson, for example, did not continue with

BMETC into the 90s. Two presidents, Ron Brown and Donald Washington, resigned.

Given these occurrences, there were still over 200 names of adults found in membership lists and over 100 youth and children listed in membership lists.

Conclusion.

Chapter 2 argued the types of intellectual capital produced by African Americans were affected by the United States' history of slavery and institutional racism. First, human capital was produced not only as expressions of creativity but to counter stereotypes, to preserve cultural history, and to provide racial uplift. Second, Black music teachers served as role models, activists, and community leaders providing correction to mainstream education philosophies and praxis. Third, educators infused the standardized curriculum with examples from Black history. Fourth, structural capital is found in the form of separate organizations and institutions with overarching missions that include advocacy and in which unique cultural effects are found.

Members of the BMETC were prolific in the creation of human, structural, and customer capital. Three things influenced the intellectual capital they produced. The first is the organization's mission to support Black music students, to provide professional development for its members, and to make visible compositions by composers of African descent. The second influence is the historical lineage of All-Black organizations whose members produced capital that provided role models and items for racial uplift. The third influence, the cultural effect of intergenerationality, influenced the production of capital in which adults, youth, and children participated in music making.

Chapter 5 provided evidence that BMETC members individually and corporately

were prolific in their creation of intellectual capital. The types of intellectual capital produced followed the historical lineage of performance, scholarship, and education discussed in chapter 2. Over the 20-year period studied, members produced hundreds of concerts and recitals.

BMETC's intellectual capital was produced within an intergenerational setting. This intergenerational setting provided opportunities for adults to serve as mentors and coaches to students and to develop meaningful relationships with peers and Black music educators as role models. Students began attending full membership meetings in the 80s; this provided students with leadership opportunities. The intergenerational nature of BMETC represented a lineage of African American history, scholarship, and performance. Adults and students engaged in discussions of problems experienced by teachers and students.

The structural capital of BMETC included unique cultural elements found in historic Black organizations presented in chapter 2 as well. An example of a unique cultural effect is the blurring of the line between sacred and secular elements. These elements include the office of chaplain, devotions, bible readings, and the singing of hymns as part of monthly meetings. Relationships were maintained within and across adult, youth, and junior divisions. As examples of external capital, BMETC developed and maintained relationships with academic institutions, culture-producing and social/political organizations; and the Black community. Customer capital can also be identified through correspondence between internal (members) and external customers (non-members).

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

This study traced the development of the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities (BMETC) from 1974 to 1994. The dates of 1974-1994 represented the organizational archives held at the Minnesota History Center, the first archive uncovered. Using materials from two institutional and two personal archives, BMETC's intellectual capital was identified and used to analyze and interpret the organization's legacy, influence and impact. Four archival sources included correspondence, meeting minutes and agendas, programs, publicity items, copies of newspaper articles, constitutions and by-laws, photographs, and reports. Informal conversations with former BMETC members, Margaret LaFleur, Velma Warder, Holly A. Berry, Lloyd Winfield, Ron Brown and Patricia Jones assisted with interpretation and with identifying elements of legacy.

Chapter 6 will first discuss BMETC and its intellectual capital within the theoretical framework of CRT. This discussion will be organized using two tenets developed by Critical Race Theory scholars. The first tenet used is interest convergence and the second is counter-storytelling. Both provide ways of understanding the types of intellectual capital produced by BMETC and the internal and external challenges leading to the cessation of consistent activities. Second BMETC's legacy, influence and impact will be examined using the intellectual capital documented in chapter 5 and the challenges to organizational survival presented in chapter 1. Third, implications of this research and recommendations for future research are offered. The chapter closes with final conclusions and an epilogue.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) and BMETC

The history of African and African Americans in the United States as free and enslaved and their ongoing struggles necessitates the use of CRT to discuss their activities, valued and progress through an examination of their intellectual capital. The BMETC was centered in and continued a history of All-Black volunteer organizations who sought to counter and mitigate the effects of institutional and systemic racism. The origins, intellectual capital, influence, impact, and legacy of the organization were directly affected by racism. CRT provides a context for discussing BMETC's place in the lineage of All-Black volunteer organizations. The CRT tenets of interest convergence and counter-storytelling provide ways of understanding the types of intellectual capital produced by BMETC and the internal and external challenges leading to the cessation of consistent activities.

BMETC in the History of All-Black Volunteer Organizations

Formation.

Slavery and the ensuing racism that permeated American society, and its social, political and economic structures, and its institutions necessitated the formation of All-Black volunteer organizations. Free Blacks organized in the 1700s to assist free and enslaved Africans. The National Association of Negro Musicians organized to preserve and advocate for the performance of all genres and styles of African American music. The Florida Association of Band Directors (FABD) formed because Black directors of bands in public schools were not permitted to join the All-White Florida Band

Association. The Black Music Caucus (BMC) organized because the Music Educators National Conference (MENC) had a history of racism and was continuing this history in current practices.

BMETC followed this history of All-Black organizations that formed as a direct result of racism or in response to racist praxis. The idea leading to the formation of BMETC arose out of a racist event. African American professors, Drs. Buckner and Southall were presenters at a teacher training workshop. Black public school teachers at the workshop identified the behavior of their White counterparts as racist and disrespectful. Three teachers approached Dr. Southall and impressed upon her the need for an organization of Black music teachers. This incident is directly related to the formation of BMETC. Personal experiences of racism led Black music teachers to develop a mission that countered and sought to mitigate the effects of racism for themselves and their students.

Mission.

Central to the mission of historic All-Black organizations regardless of published mission were efforts to counter and mitigate racism. Examples of this include the first free Black societies in the 1700's whose intellectual capital simultaneously provided for the unmet material, personal, educational, and professional needs of free and enslaved Africans. As part of this lineage, BMETC countered the racism experienced by Black performers, music teachers and their students by producing human capital in the form of repertoire lists, lectures, journal articles, and pedagogies that made visible the contributions of Black teachers, composers, and performers of Art music. BMETC sought

to counter the racist practices of institutions and culture-producing organizations by functioning as a watchdog highlighting instances of injustices and racism. They identified for mainstream institutions and organizations the ways in which the voice, needs, or expertise of African Americans were excluded from decision-making and programming. Examples of this was represented in correspondence found in archives.

When organizational members became concerned the Minnesota Opera would seek a waiver instead of hiring African Americans to perform in their production of *Porgy and Bess*, BMETC members contacted the leaders of Minnesota Opera. Concerned that African Americans were not involved in the planning of the Perpich Center for Arts Education, BMETC sent a letter offering the names of Black music teachers whose expertise would be helpful to the stated outcome of the center, and whose voice would represent the African American community. A letter was written to Superintendent Richard Green advocating for that a music position in North Minneapolis be returned to a full-time position. BMETC challenged the use of a White jazz performer for a series of jazz workshops at Anwatin School. Ms. Swartz sought the assistance of BMETC and the free services of BMETC members and jazz performer, Reginald T. Buckner. A letter sent from BMETC recognized the Black jazz musician already employed by Anwatin. BMETC also interpreted her request of support from a Black organization to support the efforts of a white jazz musician as the representative face of Jazz as inappropriate.

To mitigate the racism Black music students experienced from their families and communities, BMETC provided students with opportunities to meet, learn from, and perform with other Black musicians in Western Art music. The history of racism had

characterized performances of Western Art music as White. Additionally, social progress and legislation such as *Brown vs. Board of Education* worked in tandem to make music performance and teaching as careers undesirable to African-Americans. This will be discussed further as an internal pressure. Though not currently performing professionally, former youth BMETC member Holly A. Berry noted, the support BMETC provided and the inspiration she gained from personally witnessing the work of Black classically trained professional musicians helped to prepare for having a performance career (personal communication, H. A. Berry, October 30, 2016).

The organization mitigated the effects of racism, developing structural capital in which Black music teachers and their students honed their skills as performers, composers, scholars, and leaders. Performances and scholarly presentations provide examples of these opportunities. The Youth division gave teenaged members of BMETC opportunities to learn how to run meetings, recruit and retain members, and organize events. As a chapter of NANM, BMETC linked their structural capital at regional and national levels. Adult and youth members continued to develop their skills, participating in performances and in organizational meetings.

Customer capital was developed offering supportive and mentoring relationships and networks at the local, regional, and national levels. Examples included the *Music Power* program through which mentoring relationships were developed through private lessons in a music studio atmosphere. Adult members encouraged young musicians to continue their musical studies despite the lack of support from their families. The *Go to College* workshops and tuition scholarships helped mitigate racist practices by providing

information that made it possible for students to prepare for entry into 4-year music programs, and the money to assist with the first year of study.

Customer capital provided the Black community with examples of successful, professional Black musicians, composers, educators and scholars. Examples include participation in activities sponsored by sororities, churches, and political organizations. Performances of compositions by composers of African descent also supported the visibility of Black composers. BMEC members participating at local, regional, and national level kept the needs of Black adults and students at the forefront of planning and decision-making. Examples of this was evidenced in the collaborations between BMETC and MENC, MMEA, and MacPhail. BMETC increased the numbers of Black music teachers who participated and rose in leadership within MENC and MMEA. MacPhail included compositions by Black composers in their required audition lists.

In conclusion, formation, mission, and intellectual capital produced by BMETC is centered in and represents a continuation of the history of All-Black volunteer organizations. Institutional and systemic racism effected the types of human, structural, and cultural capital produced as it made the need for Black people to organize and to formulate strategies to simultaneously provide pathways to success within mainstream White America, while preserving expressions of African American ethnicity necessary.

Interest Convergence and Counter-storytelling.

As an effect of interest convergence, in which certain skills are encouraged and supported as the benefitted White society, BMETC focused on a prolific production of music performances and music teaching. These two areas of music performance and music

teaching were historically supported and encouraged by White society as these skills made free and enslaved Africans more valuable financially. This support though, included implicit and explicit racism with regard to (a) the types of music appropriate to African Americans, (b) the ways Black musical contributions were documented and (c) how prevalent these contributions were represented. Items (b) and (c) are related but are slightly different. The ways in which Black musical contributions are documented is rife with racism. At times, the contributions of African Americans are represented as flukes or anomalies. The example of Blind Tom mentioned in earlier chapters is an example. Though he trained with some of the finest teachers of piano and composition, his abilities were consistently characterized as the work of an idiot or an archangel fallen from heaven (San Francisco *Alta California*, August 1, 1869). Item (c) is related to the quantity of representations. As shown in earlier chapters mainstream histories contain African American contributions anecdotally, rather than as fully integrated supporting the depth, breadth, and prolific nature of the contributions.

Stereotypes relegated musical performances of blackness to the confines of popular music, Jazz, and Gospel. Because of this, BMETC members were forced to simultaneously focus on practicing high standards in Western performance techniques while cultivating recognition and appreciation of Black music. To achieve this form of duality, BMETC's human capital included performances of Western Art Music by European composers and compositions by composers of African descent. The pedagogies employed by BMETC members included traditional European techniques and the improvisational skills valued by African and African American music.

African American contributions in the field of music education are either absent or minimized from mainstream histories and publications. Under the tenet of interest conversion, it can be argued the erasure or minimization of African American contributions to music education and the teaching and performance of Western Art music better serves the interests of the White majority. Chapter 1 discussed this absence using as examples, textbooks by Birge (1966), Sunderman (1943), Keene (1982, 1987), Mark (1989), Gary (1964) and Mark and Gary (2007; 1992). BMETC sought to provide a story contrary to the story provided by mainstream sources. were evidenced through BMETC's activities as teachers and scholars. Examples from archives include Buckner's video series, *Jazz: An American Classic*, Southall's three-volume series on Thomas "Blind Tom" Wiggins Bethune. Additional examples documented in chapter 5 included LaFleur's multimedia projects on African-American music and five television shows for the Minneapolis Public Schools were aired on KTCA television. Judy Henderson's audio collection, *African American Music in Minnesota: From Spirituals to Rap* (1994) provides a final example.

Within BMETC, structural capital syncretized Robert's Rules of Order with African American values of spirituality. This syncretization is evidenced in archived meeting agendas and minutes. Presentation of organized reports and voting procedures follow Robert's Rules of Order. The additions of hymn-singing, devotion, bible verses, and prayers represent the value of spirituality.

Counter-Storytelling.

The mission, activities and scholarship of BMETC practices counter-storytelling, which exposed and challenged narratives and characterizations of African American performers and teachers. The work of BMETC members challenged the narrative that African Americans did not significantly contribute to Western Art music. To accomplish this, BMETC members developed repertoire lists of Art compositions by Black composers, served as guest speakers, completed scholarship highlighting the contributions of Black composers, performers, and educators. Additionally, members performed and encouraged the performances of works by composers of African descent within the field of Art Music to challenge characterizations of African Americans as primarily involved in popular genres, jazz, and Gospel.

Pressures Leading to the Cessation of Regular Activities

The delineation between internal and external pressures is difficult to represent, cleanly. This is because race and power causes many of the pressures to be both external and internal. Nonetheless, attempts are made to present and discuss pressures as either primarily internal or external.

Internal Pressures.

Organizations and movements that serve members of underrepresented communities experience unique pressures from within the organization that impede their progress, effectiveness, and longevity. Internal pressures impacting BMETC included the challenge of leadership, member burnout, ever-expanding mission, and conflict.

Leadership.

Historically, Black communities struggle to honor elders while integrating the voices of emerging leaders. Chapter 1 presented research highlighting the history of Black leadership. Southall represents the *charismatic* leader discussed in Hope's (1980) article on Black leadership styles. He posits over time, the charismatic leader becomes enshrined and in some cases is deified. Additionally, Hope argues racism prevents Black organizations from moving from having a charismatic leader to having professional leaders because of the attachment White Allies have to the original charismatic leader.

While not elected president, Geneva Southall acted as the primary spokesperson and visionary for BMETC. She was the author of most of the organization's correspondence and newspaper articles. Archives document multiple times when she personally funded events like the annual holiday dinners, one scholarship, and part of trips to NANM conventions.

Over the years BMETC's relationship with Southall as its unelected head became strained. In the beginning, BMETC documents identified Southall in her capacities as committee chair, or co-chair, as secretary, and in the very beginning as consultant. In the mid-80s, documents began to identify Southall as the founder of BMETC. While documents support Southall sent out the first invitation that brought the teachers together, archives also support the impetus for the formation of the organization came from three public school teachers and that there were several public school and college teachers at that first Coffee Fellowship, and at the meeting in which the organization was officially founded. LaFleur presents her own pivotal role in the formation of BMETC. "My idea sprung from my experiences in MN from 1971-1974" (LaFleur, 1994). The continuation

of the document entitled “The Southall Saga” highlights additional struggles.

As president, I moved independently of you (Southall) – Yvonne, etc. I tried to make decisions based on wise judgment.” Though the relationship was in transition, LaFleur confirms her personal support of Southall and of Southall’s positive qualities. “I have always been your supporter... You are generous, good intentioned (sic), steadfast. You will support someone until they have proven unworthy – then you will put a halt to your support... very negative toward certain elements (1) Whites, (2) men who are involved with whites, etc. anyone who doesn’t respect BMETC goals (LaFleur, 1994).

The assumption Southall was against all White people must be challenged since it is contradicted by evidence of Southall’s many collaborations with White University of Minnesota faculty. Perhaps the issue is not Southall’s willingness to work with White performers, but an unwillingness to have White performers as primary members of BMETC. This attitude was historically supported by members of the Black Power Movement, and originally by Malcolm X because of what Carmichael and Hamilton argue represents a conflict of interests (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1968). This conflict of interests is supported historically by the example provided in Chapter 1 of the New York Manumission Society, who publicly worked on the dismantling of slavery, while owning slaves.

Though Southall never held the office of president, her desires for the organization were powerfully present. Her voice is evidenced by her authorship of most press releases, directional memos, and correspondence. The notes recognize Southall as

BMETC's leader. At issue in the notes titled, *The Southall Saga* is Southall's leadership style. "Your style of leadership is dictatorial – you take charge and tell others what to do" (LaFleur, 1994). The recognition that members were not happy with her leadership style may have led to Southall's resignation from active participation in BMETC. It may also be argued that her "hands on approach" caused conflict, leading to the resignations of presidents Ron Brown and Donald Washington. It may be argued contrariwise that Southall's leadership style fueled the success BMETC enjoyed for 20 years.

Member Burnout.

Conversations with Judy Henderson and Margaret LaFleur highlight what Henderson termed shortcomings with regard to membership participation. Henderson mentioned problems with members being available for performances and to attend conferences but not available when needed for planning or set-ups. LaFleur spoke of ending her participation with the organization when seeing her stressed about the organization, questioned why she was still working with the group. Minutes from meetings show inconsistent attendance at meetings supporting Henderson's claim. Several letters from BMETC leaders requesting attendance at meetings and making references to vacations, illnesses, hiatuses, etc. also support the perception the real work of the organization was being accomplished by only a few members.

Recruiting students and parents was not always a group venture. It fell on one or two people, and that was not fair. Everybody needed to be out and bringing in kids, not just when we have the Master Classes or when we have receptions or when we have recitals. Recruit them permanently. Moreover, then when the kids

started growing up, I mean getting close to being out of high school then there was no, there, the thing about giving kids scholarships to major in music, they did not want to major in music (personal communication with J. Henderson, March 14, 2014).

Challenges from Parents

BMETC faced challenges from Black parents who in the 70s sought careers for their children that offered, in their view, more financial stability than that of teaching or performing. Teaching, due to the negative and positive effects of desegregation and integration efforts, had lost its place in the Black community as a viable career alternative. Music performance was viewed as an unviable career alternative because of its inability to provide a stable and consistent salary. As an example, Judy Henderson related conversations she had with the parent of a student with whom she was working.

Stokley was my student in school and Jeff Allen, the sax player. We repaired his instrument so that he could keep playing. So as a result of that they could keep the group together. I didn't know where they were going with this group, you know and El-Kati, his dad, was saying, 'Why is he messing with these drums...I don't know why.' I said, 'Don't say anything you might see his name in lights one day (J. Henderson, personal communication, March, 2014).

In the 90s parents of students participating in the BMETC Youth and Children's Parents in the Youth division began to question the way the adult organization handled money awarded through grants. A memo only signed *Parents of BMETC* questions which students are allowed to participate in concerts and attend conferences. It

also requests financial reports listing the dollar amounts of grants received to support student activities. The memo finally requests the background of teachers involved in music programs funded by grants. A memo apparently answers these requests to the Parents and Members of BMETC from the BMETC Parent Reorganization Committee. This memo dated, September 14, 1994, introduces a new Parent Advisory Board. The memo also identifies parents will be elected to the board. These events coincide with the resignations of Geneva Southall and BMETC president Donald Washington.

External Pressures.

External pressures affecting BMETC's ability to continue their progress and effectiveness include fiscal instability, the lack of community support and an ever-expanding mission.

Fiscal Instability.

The challenges BMETC faced as a Black organization mirror those experienced historically by Black organizations. The priorities of grant-making entities forced BMETC to produce large numbers of concerts and recitals to provide scholarships for Black students while at the same time operating on a shoestring operating budget. Programs, on the other hand, were primarily funded through grants and donations. The archives frequently reference fundraising attempts that failed to meet projected revenue expectations, members who were remiss in paying their dues, and concert co-sponsorships whose expenses exceeded revenues. Davis (1980) noted the Black communities' lack of financial commitment to Black organizations was problematic and

in some cases became one of the direct causes of the failure of these organizations. While members of the Black community supported BMETC through donations, the donor list was not varied, causing many to donate more than once within the same year.

Additionally, many of the donors were members of BMETC.

There were also immense financial pressures placed on BMETC because of its status as a chapter of NANM. NANM's financial requirements for individual chapters included individual memberships from 60% of adult and youth chapter members, a chapter assessment for the adult division, a separate assessment for the Youth Division and additional funds to provide financial support so that the Central Regional Director could attend national conventions. In the end, the assessments required to be a chapter of NANM siphoned off a significant amount of BMETC's budget.

Lack of Community Support.

In addition to the lack of financial support for the Black community, Black music students performing in Western Art Music styles often experienced the effects of invisibility and hypervisibility, being a minority within ensembles, or within their communities as Black students in Western Art Music. The pressure on Black students to perform pop and jazz and instruments that are common to those genres came from communities of color as well. BMETC member Judy Henderson recounted her personal experience in which she was isolated from her community because of her interest in organ and Western Art music. She was called Bourgie⁹ relating her interests to the

⁹ The term, Bourgie is used in Black vernacular as a shortened version of the French term, Bourgeois. In Black vernacular, it is a negative term referring to Black people who attempt to take on the characteristics of the White Middle or Upper class.

White, middle class. “Bourgie, practicing two and three hours a day and they say why is she doing that?” (personal communication with J. Henderson, March 14, 2014).

As Black educators, BMETC members also faced opposition from within their communities as parents refused to encourage their children’s pursuit of careers in music seeing music as not offering financial stability.

Henderson described occasions where Black parents, not seeing music as a viable career option for their children, failed to encourage their musical studies. “...the mindset that the parents and other people placed on children early saying ‘Oh don’t go into that...El-Kati (said) ‘Why is he (his son, Stokley Williams) going into music? Why has he got these drum sticks?’” (J. Henderson, personal communication, March, 2014). Stokley Williams may have possessed enough persistence to continue his musical studies in the face of his father’s opposition, but it certainly helped to have BMETC member, Judy Henderson to encourage and support his dreams. Holly A. Berry also identified her father as not supportive of music careers. She attributed this lack of support to his personal experiences as a jazz musician where he learned achieving a professional music career was difficult. He was also concerned about the financial instability that often accompanies attempts toward full-time performance careers.

Archives identify the primary relationship between BMETC and culture-producing community, and the Black community as one of service. There are multiple requests for ostensibly free performances at community events. While being requested to perform for free is a common complaint from Black musicians, more problematic is the fact had BMETC been paid for these performances would have strengthened BMETC’s

ability to continue as an organization. As an example, Southall paid for tables at a NAACP dinner. She and students performed at that same event for free

BMETC was also used as the face of diversity when needed by White culture-producing organizations. This is evident in the request that BMETC help sponsor and welcome the Black traveling chorus performing with the Dale Warland Singers. Members of BMETC were welcomed as co-sponsors, but member Faye Washington was not welcomed as a singer with the group. Grants sought by Swartz for the *Milo Fine Project* would support Milo Fine, but Reginald Buckner was asked to donate his time.

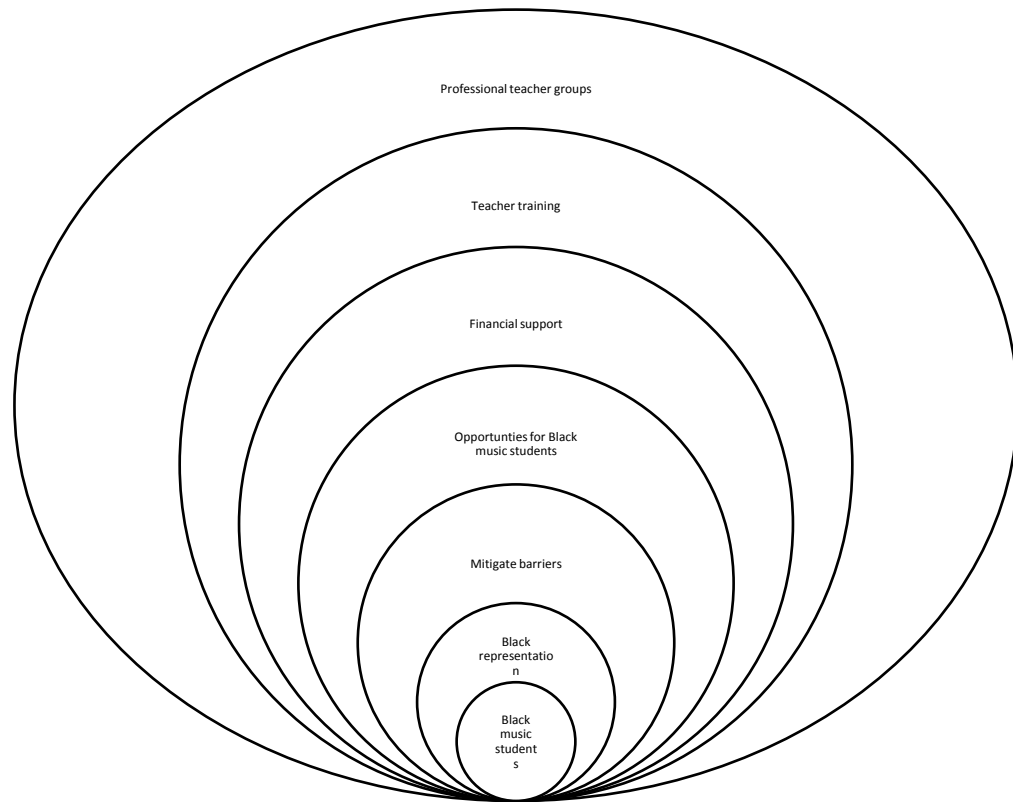


Figure 25. Circle of Growing Responsibilities.

Ever-expanding Mission.

An additional challenge to All-Black volunteer organizations is an ever-

expanding mission. The goals of BMETC began with

- a) To become a supportive force for black students in public school music programs,
- b) To seek financial and other information assistance for Black students who wanted to pursue musical careers beyond the secondary school level,
- c) To research music education topics with special emphasis on the Black perspective,
- d) To be visible in the Twin Cities and beyond in musical performances and other presentations (Buckner, 1976, pp. 13–14).

Figure 25 illustrates the growing number of areas of impact necessitated by goal (a) and (b). It was not possible to support Black music students without affecting all of the negative effects produced by systemic and institutional racism. To support Black students, BMETC needed to provide Black representation, mitigate barriers to their success, provide opportunities for performance and to increase their performance skills, offer financial support, impact new generations of music teachers through the professional groups in which participated. It is clear, achieving these two goals was daunting. When the other two goals are included, the goals appear excessive. To accomplish goal (c) adult members produced videos, audio collections, television programs, and repertoire lists. Goal (d) was accomplished through an extensive concert/recital schedule and participation in NANM at the regional and national level. The fact that historical Black organizations have these type of missions is likely the reason White sociologist Arnold Rose (1964) evaluated Black organizations as

ineffective and a waste of time for its members. He study did not delve into the challenges facing Black organizations or the effect of racism on their mission and activities.

Legacy, influence and impact.

There are three ways BMETC's legacy, influence and impact will be examined. The first is by comparing BMETC's objectives found in mission statements to the intellectual capital documented in chapter 5. The second is by documenting the progress made by teachers, and students served by BMETC programming. Because racism necessitated the need for BMETC and largely affected the mission and activities of the organization, an important third measure of BMETC's legacy, influence, and affect the effects of the absence of BMETC's influence.

The objectives of BMETC found in mission statements encompass four primary areas, a professional network for its members, support of Black music students, visibility of the organization, and the research and performance of music by Black composers. The professional network for adult members was accomplished through the customer capital produced at monthly meetings. As seen in chapter 5, monthly meetings provided opportunities for the development of human capital in the form of performance and scholarship. Skills as performers, scholars, teachers, and leaders were also developed through participation in local, regional, and national professional groups. Customer capital was developed through hosting these meetings at member's homes. The relationships formed between adult members exists into the present day.

Opportunities to develop human, structural, and customer capital were also

available to students. Through the association with BMETC as members, children, and grandchildren of BMETC members, youth developed skills as performers, composers, conductors, and music educators. They received invitations to perform at monthly meetings and later in full-length youth recitals and concerts. Financial support in the form of scholarships offered K-12 students private lessons to hone their technical skills and graduating seniors, opportunities to study music at the colleges and universities.

Activities at the local, regional, and national levels made BMETC and its members visible. Locally, BMETC provided performances, spoke at major events and co-sponsored educational opportunities. The early practice of placing meeting minutes in the *Spokesman* newspaper also added to the visibility of the organization. An additional way the organization maintained its visibility was through participation at political and social events. At the regional and national level, BMETC distinguished themselves as apt organizers and hosts co-sponsoring the Black Composer's Symposium in 1975 and the Central Division and National NANM conventions in 1989 and 1992.

The Music Stores Input Committee attempted to encourage the stocking of compositions by Black composers. It is unclear from the archives how successful these efforts were. Concerts and pedagogies were more culturally inclusive because they had the resources found in repertoire lists developed by BMETC members. Black composers' concerts organized by W. Rayford Johnson and held at Highland Park senior high school, Buckner's MLK Memorial concerts, and numerous concerts honoring Black History Month, organization by BMETC members supported this objective.

Legacy.

The current work of BMETC's former student-members provides evidence of the organization's legacy. The brief presentations of the careers of Sanford Moore, Jeffrey Allen, Stokley Williams, Lloyd Winfield, Holly Berry and Prince Rogers are offered as examples. Their careers include performance, composition, conducting, and leadership.

Sanford Moore was the recipient of BMETC's second scholarship. His scholarship was used to attend the University of Minnesota. His career as a pianist, composer, choral director, music director, and worship leader is international. The award-winning vocal ensemble *Moore by Four* (1986) has traveled extensively throughout the United States, Europe, and Asia. He has served Penumbra, Mixed Blood, Illusion, and Hey City theaters as music director. Moore also directed the University Gospel Choir (University of Minnesota). In 2015, Moore received the *Reatha Clark King Award for Excellence and Youth Motivation*.

Jeffrey Allen and Stokley Williams were students at St. Paul Central High School. At Central, they organized the R&B performance group *Mint Condition* in the mid-1980s. Jeffrey Allen is a saxophonist and member of the Afro-Latin Jazz Quintet, *Joto* (2008). He is currently a spokesperson of *Cannonball Saxophones*. Williams has appeared on over 30 recordings by the *Sounds of Blackness*, (1991, 1994), Karyn White (1991), Janet Jackson (1993, 1995), Johnny Gill (1993), *Color Me Bad* (1994), and on the soundtracks of *Mo' Money* (1992) and *Jason's Lyric* (1994). In 2011 Williams was featured on the album, *Kelly*. This appearance earned him his first Grammy nomination for Best R&B Performance.

Dr. Lloyd Winfield served as the Assistant Principal for Folwell Performing Arts Magnet in 2002. Winfield completed his M.S. in Educational Leadership and Administration from University of Wisconsin (River Falls, 2000) and his Ed.D. in Educational Leadership and Administration from the University of St. Thomas in 2011. He is currently the Principal at Dowling elementary school in Minneapolis.

Holly Berry is a flutist and model. She received her B.A. from Columbus University (GA). She has been featured with nationally acclaimed performers Jeffrey Osborne and Phil Keaggy. Holly's sister, Robin, is a harpist, composer, and arranger. She studies at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester (NY). When asked the impacts of BMETC on her life she stated the real impact on her life was encouragement provided by Southall and Frank Wharton. She added another source of inspiration was being able to see and perform with Black professional performers in Classical music (personal communication with Holly A. Berry October 30, 2016).

BMETC member, James Hamilton (Minneapolis Central High School) influenced the life of one of Minnesota's premier musicians, Prince (1958-2016). In an interview, Prince recalled an influential conversation with Hamilton. In an earlier interview, Hamilton recounts, Prince lamenting, "Mr. Hamilton, they're not going to play my song on the local radio stations' not even KMOJ." Hamilton responded, "One day soon, they will. Local radio stations will not have a choice because you will be world famous" (Allen, 2016, p. 1).

A much shorter list of accomplishments by former BMETC members includes Diana Washington (M.F.A. University of MN) who lists her current position as Orchestra

Music Librarian at Ventura College in California and Larry Griffin who is currently the Music Department Chair at Ohio Wesleyan University. Not every BMETC student continued a career in music. Tazha Buckner is an IB Diploma teacher of French in the Minneapolis public school system. N. Judge “Jay” Judge King III is a Diagnostic Radiologist and Traci M. Bransford is an Entertainment Attorney with the law firm of Stinson Leonard Street LLP. Adult members who have left Minnesota have continued distinguished careers. O’Neill Sanford is Assistant Professor of Music at Jackson State University in Louisiana, William LaRue Jones is Professor and Director of Orchestral Studies at the University of Iowa and cellist Anthony D. Elliott is a professor of cello at the University of Michigan.

Though BMETC created a history of training young musicians and through its youth division, provided leadership opportunities, traditionally once youth graduated from college, they did not return to BMETC as adult leaders. This may graduates have been due in part, to the fact that many BMETC youth were encouraged to study out of the state of Minnesota. Another mitigating factor may be many music students while beginning studies in music, did not ultimately become music teachers or professional musicians. A brief online search of BMETC youth found in archives uncovered the results in Figure 28, providing examples of BMETC student members and their current occupations.

Name	Years of involvement	Involvement in BMETC and Instrument	Current Position
Dr. B. Dexter Allgood	70s	Graduate Student piano, clarinet	Director of Choral Activities Science Park High School (NJ) Assistant Professor of Music, City College (NY)
Gary Hines	70s	Graduate Student, theater	Founder, Producer, and Director of the Grammy Award Winning choral group, <i>Sounds of Blackness</i>
N. Jay King III, M.D.	80s	Youth Division leader, Violin	Radiologist several sites (AZ, NV)
Tazha Buckner	80s	Youth Division members	French instructor, Robbinsdale Cooper High School (MN)
Dr. Lloyd Winfield	80s	Graduate Student	Principal, Dowling Urban Environmental School
Cedric Stripling	90s	Graduate Student	Instrumental Music, St. Paul Public Schools
Bobby Lyle	80s	Youth Division, piano/organ	Professional musician
Kevelyn J. McKinney-Brown	80s	Youth Division, cello	Certified Healthcare Access Associate at St. Dominic - Jackson Memorial Hospital (MS)
Marcus Walker	90s	Piano, percussion	Director of Music & Creative Arts, Greater Mt. Zion Church (TX)

Figure 26. Former Graduate and Youth Members of BMETC.

Influence and Impact

Changes culture-producing organizations made because of their relationship to BMETC identify BMETC's influence and impact. Conversely, the ways these organizations have not continued to progress following BMETC's inactive period also identify influence and impact. Examples are provided. Following the 3rd *Symposium of Black Composers* co-sponsored by BMETC and AAMOA in 1975, MacPhail committed to include compositions by Black composers on their audition list. Current lists do not show compositions by Black composers other than lists of pieces from jazz and spirituals. In the 80s, three piano compositions by Black composers were added to the Minnesota Music Teachers Association (MMTA) repertoire list. This practice has not continued.

During the period of BMETC's greatest activity, multiple concerts billed as celebrating the compositions by composers of African descent, occurred throughout the Twin Cities. Rather than being relegated to Black History Month, these concerts occurred throughout the year featuring performers of all ages and skill levels. Black composers' concerts held at Highland Park Sr. High and Camphor United Methodist Church no longer occur. With the exception of summer Jazz offerings, the Minnesota Orchestra no longer sponsors premieres of compositions by Black composers. The only annual celebration of Art Music by composers of African descent is hosted by VocalEssence. VocalEssence's website describes its celebration of Black composers called, *Witness*, as having been organized in 1991. At concerts and in fundraising documents, Vocalessence founder and director Phillip Brunelle annually retells the story of the concert's origins as having been suggested by Reatha Clark King, retired president of Metro State University.

This concert series could easily be considered a BMETC contribution. King's husband, N. Judge King (1936-2014), and son N. Judge King, III participated in BMETC in the late 80s, a time during which many concerts featuring Black composers were sponsored. Arguably, the King's involvement in BMETC translated to Reatha Clark King and from her to Phillip Brunelle. This concert series continues today.

The annual tribute to Martin Luther King, Jr. created by Reginald T. Buckner no longer features students from the University of Minnesota, and Black musicians from the Twin Cities in meaningful ways. Absent are keynote speakers who inspired audience members to continue King's social justice work. Also absent is the close network between the MLK committee, which is no longer centered in the School of Music, but in the Office of Equity and Diversity. Conversations at MLK planning meetings typically surround the choice of national talent that will attract large, young audiences.

Through his membership and affiliation with BMETC members, Robert L. Morris' dream of a professional choral group was realized in the *Leigh Morris Chorale*. This Twin Cities-based community chorale used concerts termed, "informances" to educate audience about African American Art Music and written choral traditions ("Robert L. Morris Biography- GIA Publications," 2016). The Chorale received a Jerome Foundation grant in 1995 to support a competition designed to identify emerging African American composers from Minnesota and New York City. These commissions were presented in concerts during its 2001 season. The *Leigh Morris Chorale* is featured on two compact discs with *VocalEssence* (1996, 2004). Several BMETC members sang with the chorus until its dissolution.

During the 70s and 80s when Buckner was employed at the University of Minnesota, there were between 27 Black students enrolled at various levels in Music, Music Education, and Music Therapy. Buckner died in 1989. The drop off in enrollment was immediate. In 1990, there were only four Black students enrolled at the University in Music. I have been at student in Music performance and education first through a Master's degree program and then as a Ph.D. student since 1987. Buckner's positive impact on the enrollment of Black students at the University of Minnesota is clear.

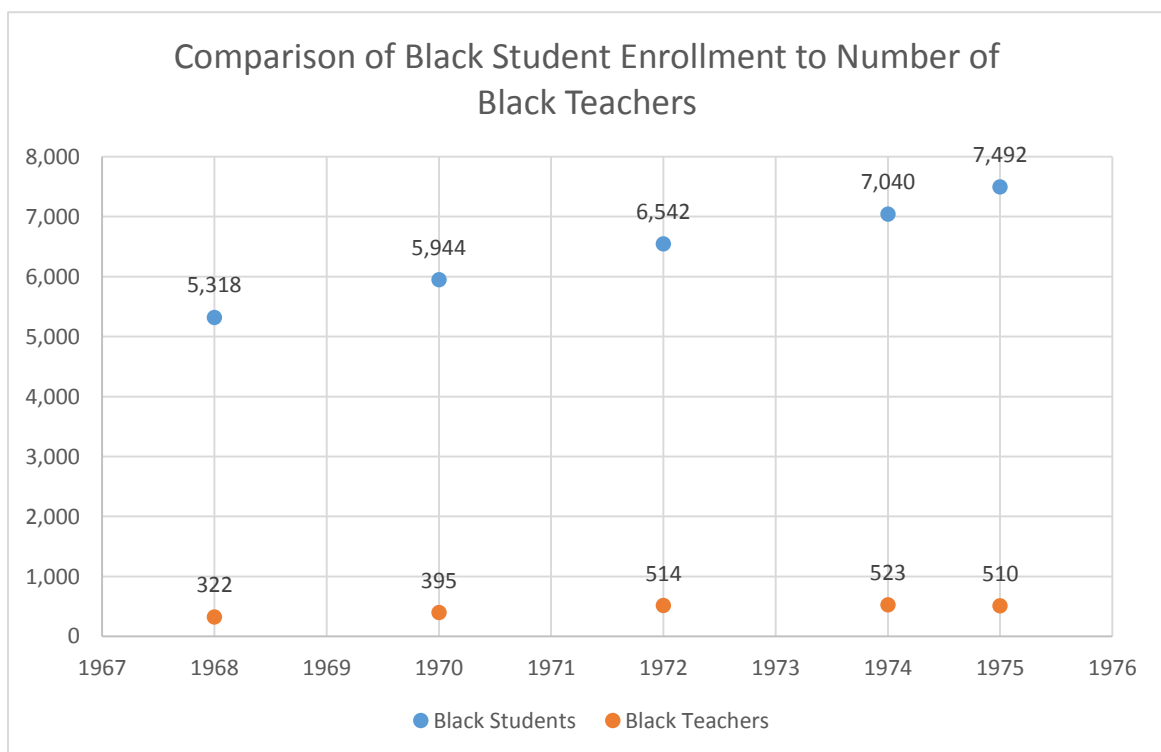
Implications of the Research

As discussed in chapter 1, faulty music teacher praxis emanating from gaps in knowledge that makes African American contributions to music and music education invisible, resulted in (a) music stereotyping and tokenism, (b) lack of Black role models (c) lowered academic performance, (d) reinforcement of stereotypes.

The absence of robust representations of African Americans in music history, music education, and repertoire has led mainstream music teachers and music programs to stereotype performance of popular music, Jazz, Gospel and Spirituals as performances of blackness. Students seeking careers and training in Western Art music are not encouraged because Western Art music is equated with performances of whiteness. Repertoire chosen for performances at any level include only token representations of Black contributions. Desegregation has had a negative impact on the numbers of Black teachers in public schools. The numbers of Black teachers in public schools is at an all-time low and is considered a crisis. The diminished number of Black teachers represents a diminished number of Black role models in public schools. Chapter 1 identified the

effects of the lack of Black role models as increased feelings of invisibility and hypervisibility. The chapter also described the negative impacts, missing role models has on academic performance. The widening academic gap between White students and students of color is currently not described as a crisis. The invisibility of Black teachers has served to reinforce perceptions that Black people do not contribute in the fields of Western Art music and music education.

Buckner's human capital portended the effect of the absence of incoming Black Music Education majors in an article he wrote in 1981. He identified three negative impacts leading to fewer Black students pursuing studies in music programs. The reasons included (a) lack of recruitment efforts by music teachers, (b) Black parent's refusal to support their child's music education, and (c) lessened financial support of music programs. Statistics have supported growing numbers of enrolled students of color with



increasingly decreasing numbers of teachers of color.

The 1997-8 report by the Data Center of the Minnesota Department of Education identified Black teachers represented 6 % of all teachers employed (1997-1998 Demographics-Teachers-School, 1997). Unfortunately, the gulf between Black teachers and students has only increased. Statistics collected by the Center for American Progress described the demographics of Minnesota teaching force as 95 % White and 2 % Black (Boser, 2014). The lower number of African Americans entering the teaching profession are due to desegregation efforts, racist strategies that disproportionately place Black teachers in schools having higher discipline problems, and the inroads in other fields making teaching only one option, and perhaps not the most lucrative option (Thomas, 2015).

Table 3. Comparison of Black Student Enrollment with Number of Employed Black Teachers 1967-1976.
Chart created from the 1997-8 school reports submitted to the Minnesota Department of Education.

The need to provide an inclusive, robust representation of Black contributions is one that has been made even clearer from recent statements by the former executive director and chief director of MENC, Michael A. Butera. His statements included the reason Black and Latino music students are not found in greater numbers as members of MENC is because they do not have piano keyboard skills necessary for the field of music and “the field of music educators much like the general population of music educators is skewed toward white individuals” (Cooper, 2016b). These statements are problematic for several reasons. First, his statements highlight the gaps in knowledge regarding the large number of classically trained Black and Latino artists. Second, his statements regarding

the skew toward White music teachers does not take into consideration the impacts of racism on the industry. This perception also may only be reflective of music teachers who are active members of MENC. Unfortunately, his statement regarding Black and Latinos and their keyboard skills is probably reflective of the perspective of many mainstream music educators who themselves may be responsible for the lower numbers of students, and of their lack of piano skills. Regardless, his statements present an indictment of MENC, which has clearly not provided an education to its teacher-members, or staff, which includes multiple, significant contributions by people of color. It also does not speak highly of MENC's commitment to recruit and support music teachers of color as members of MENC. His unfortunate, but timely statements also make clear, the necessity of organizations like FABD, BMC, and BMETC.

The inclusion of Black intellectual capital provides information that when added to current knowledge will provide a richer history of music and music education. Providing a richer history is just the first step toward creating a pyramid of influence leading to a culturally representative classroom, which is consistently communicated as a core value by professional music and music teacher organizations. Second, this inclusion of material mandates a commitment to work toward evolving the perceptions of music teachers so that materials available to music programs are culturally representative. Culturally representative music programs will, in turn lead to greater numbers of Black music students enrolling in school choirs, orchestra, and bands. Larger numbers of Black students involved in school music programming can possibly re-ignite the music teaching profession as viable for Black music teachers. Finally, students of all races, ethnicities,

and national origins will be better prepared to make music, live, and compete in a global society.

Recommendations for Future Research

There are many topics worthy of future study. These topics can be organized into three categories, BMETC members, culture-producing organizations related to BMETC, and general studies of Music Education in the Twin Cities. Considering the wealth of archives kept in repositories around the country, Dr. Southall presents a topic worthy of study. Additional members include Reginald T. Buckner, Margaret LaFleur, and W. Rayford Johnson. Adult BMETC members could be studied individually or as a group for biographies or presented as intellectual histories. Likewise, the youth and child participants of BMETC could be studied. BMETC as an organization did not track their student members very well. These members could be studied for their intellectual capital or the supplement another study of BMETC.

The history or intellectual capital of AAMOA is another topic worthy of research. Its long tenure featured a cooperative effort with Columbia Records (1974-1978) to produce recorded anthologies of compositions by Black composers. Further research is necessary regarding the use of compositions by composers of African descent within culture-producing organizations in Minnesota. Black Composers concerts were common in the Twin Cities in the 70s and 80s, documentation of the concerts sponsored by BMETC, local churches, and Highland Park Sr. High is necessary to fill gaps in knowledge. There is no completed study of the Metropolitan Cultural Arts Center.

Reginald Buckner's journal article on NS Clark Smith mentions bands, orchestras,

and choirs attached to the Pullman Company. Black St. Paulites played important roles in the Pullman Porter's movement. While there is research on the St. Paul Pullman Porters, there is no research on musical activities, if any, of the group. While researching the history of Black Music Education, I was made aware of music programs within the Freedman Bureau Schools. The Freedman Bureau Schools and textbooks used in the schools have been researched, but not the topic of music education as a lens. A study similar to one prepared by Reginald Buckner, who studied a specific neighborhood in Kansas City, KS could be replicated in Minnesota. The Highland Park, Willard and Homewood neighborhoods, and the neighborhoods served by St. Paul Central could provide apt study areas. There are also many Twin Cities' performance groups that have been studied. Typically, though the ones studied performed popular music. A study of Black groups like the Twin Cities Black Flute Society and Women of Class should be completed. Lastly, Music Education groups like the Music Education Enrichment Project at Community Covenant Church and the Phillis Wheatley Center should also be studied.

Final Conclusion

For more than 200 years, the United States was involved in the enslavement of Africans. The effect of this history is racism that is systemic and institutional. BMETC was centered in the history of social activism through organization that sought to provide correction to mainstream histories and perceptions through organizations and institutions. Systemic and institutional racism impacted BMETC in the following ways (a) the types of intellectual capital produced, (b) the expenditure of valuable resources and (c) the kinds of additional pressures that affected the organization's ability to act and interact.

BMETC's human capital syncretized¹⁰ European, African and African-American elements. This capital, necessitated by Racism and its effects, included compositions, research, performances, and teaching practices. Through their unique structural capital maintained a relationship between church and state by including prayer, bible verses, and hymn singing in their meetings. BMETC produced customer capital in service to Black music students, teachers, churches, schools, community organizations, and culture-producing institutions.

The types of leaders supported by White benefactors made it nearly impossible for the organization to move beyond the preferred charismatic model of leadership to the professional leadership style model. BMETC members experience additional pressures in the necessity to serve both White and Black communities, even though that goals and objective may be in direct conflict with one another. This push-pull scenario is not one experienced by White organizations.

BMETC was not able to just make music and to support the educational, artistic and creative growth of its members, because of having to respond to instances of racism. Instead, BMETC, as an organization continually expanded their mission. This ever-expanding mission, the need to "be all to everybody" is an additional pressure experience by organizations that are founded by members of underrepresented groups. The increased pressure precipitated by their ever-expanding mission placed pressures on the intellectual capital BMETC produced. While in positive ways in created more external customer capital, it can be argued, the need to be visible and responsive wreaked havoc on

¹⁰ Syncretization merges and harmonizes seemingly different and often opposing views, activities, and elements.

members' energies and abilities to be fully committed for the long haul.

The activities of retired former members who continue to volunteer and positively influence the world and in the numbers of former youth and junior members who continue to participate as new generations of performers and teachers or who contribute in fields outside of music provide ample evidence of BMETC's legacy. The impact and influence of BMETC is evident in the progress made toward diversity, integration and representation during their active years but even more so in lack of continued progress toward dismantling systemic institutional racism, since the cessation of regular activities.

Despite the pressures and the negative impacts of racism, the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities (BMETC) was successful. The organization provided services that met the unfulfilled needs of Black music teachers and students. Its meetings, concerts and workshops offered personal, professional, and financial support. Participation in MENC, MMEA, MacPhail, area academic institutions and churches made visible the contributions of African Americans in the field of music and music education.

Epilogue

There have already been positive impacts of this dissertation. There is renewed interest in BMETC and are currently efforts to re-start the organization. Negative to this wonderful news is the fact that 2017 has not seen continued progress toward true racial and ethnic integration within music programs in the United States, which makes organizations necessary. A second positive impact is the researcher has been invited to update information at the Minnesota Historical Center, which will update BMETC dates

of existence.

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Appendix A 20-year history of BMETC p. 1 (Southall, 1994)

BMETC: 20 YEARS OF HIGHLIGHTS-

- 1974: On October 19th Dr. Geneva Southall, having been approached by Margaret LaFleur and two other music teachers of needing a support system for Afro-American students in the Twin Cities, held an informal coffee-hour to discuss these concerns in the multi-purpose room of the University of Minnesota's Afro-American Studies Department, which she then chaired. Seventeen Afro-American music educators attended and the organization was founded with three major objectives:
- 1) to provide the needed professional network with each other,
 - 2) to promote the performance of music by Black composers, and
 - 3) to offer encouragement and monetary assistance to Afro-American youth in their musical studies.
- 1975: formal organizational meeting, March 19th, with W. Rayford Johnson elected the first President.
- co-sponsored with AAMOA a 5-day "Minnesota Black Composers Symposium" with the Minnesota Orchestra at Orchestra Hall (May 19-23). Several members performed.
- 1976: A Go-to-College Workshop (April 13) at Central High School, St. Paul, which discussed new entrance requirements for music majors and ways BMETC members could serve as a resource to them. Dr. Otis D. Simmons, Dean of College of Arts, Alabama State University, was their visiting consultant.
- 1977: first annual scholarship fundraiser concert by members at Pilgrim Baptist church.
- co-sponsored performance of Afro-American composer ROGER DICKERSON's "Orpheus and his Slide Trombone" with the ST. PAUL CIVIC SYMPHONY and the late James Rance as narrator, Edourad Forner, Music Director.
- 1978: Under leadership of member, Margaret LaFleur, MENC Minority Concern Concerns Director, members served as clinicians and sponsored 6 Ethnic music sessions at the MENC mid-winter clinic, Leamington Hotel.
- 1979: Display of materials on Black Music with their Minority Awareness ethnic music sessions at MMEA in-servic clinic.
- 2nd fund-raising scholarship concert with O'Neill Sanford, Director of University of Minnesota Marching Band directing Afro-American high school and college musicians in his compositions with special guest, Robyn Berry, harpist, the 1976 Omega Psi Phi Talent Hunt winner.

Appendix A 20-year history of BMETC p. 2

- 1980: Showcase of Afro-American youth musicians at the Mpls. Institute of Arts with 1st scholarship tuition-grant (\$1,000) awarded to ZARA TURNER, pianist, entering Oberlin Conservatory that fall.
- second "Go-go-College workshop for 19 Junior/Sr. High Afro-American music students at the University of Minnesota, Scott Hall.
- 1981: Co-sponsored a benefit Scholarship concert by the ST. PAUL CHAMBER ORCHESTRA featuring works of Black composers in conjunction with the Winter Carnival at St. Paul's Central High. Mayor George Latimer proclaims January 31, 1981 as "Black Music Educators, Twin City" day in St. Paul.
- 2nd Scholarship recipient (\$1,000) to SANFORD MOORE, pianist, to attend University of Minnesota.
- 1982: Presented a Black History Month concert-reception honoring Afro-American music students and their parents at Grace Temple Deliverance Center.
- 3rd Scholarship recipient, LLOYD WINFIELD, tuba Music Education major, University of Minnesota.
- Incorporated by Charter as a branch of NANM at their 62nd Convention in Los Angeles, making it possible for Twin City students to compete in their regional and national scholarship Competitions, and perform as soloists and members of the National Youth Chorale and Orchestra.
- 1983: Presented Dr. Southall, pianist, in a scholarship fund raiser at St. James AME church (St. Paul) assisted by Mark Bjor, violin, Dr. William Jones, bassoon, Jacqueline Ultan, cello and Frank Wharton, flute.
- Took several youth to the Convention in New York where they performed in the national concerts.
- 1984: Hosted the Central Regional Conference where youth member HOLLY BERRY was chosen to represent them at the National Convention (held in Las Vegas) in their Wind Competition.
- 4th scholarship recipient, KEVELYN McKINNEY, cellist, to Jackson St State University.
- presented DONNIE RAY ALBERT, noted bass-baritone as their first national Afro-American performer at Westminster Presbyterian church.
- Did the first three of their Hom chamber Music concert Series that showcased youth and adult music.
- 1985: Sponsored the "Music Power Project" with funding by the St. Paul Foundation where over forty students received financial supplements for private music instruction, involved in master classes, bi-weekly classes on Black music, field trips to concerts and showcase performance opportunities (administered by Dr. H. Yvonne Cheek and Judy Henderson)

Appendix A 20-year history of BMETC p. 3

Awarded first Music minor "Buckner Memorial Scholarships" to CERISSE WASHINGTON, flute, to Hampton Institute and DANIEL WILLIAMS, piano, Northwestern University.

1992: Hosted the 73rd NANM Convention at Shearton Park Place Hotel, Mpls. and insugurated a National Junior Division Orchestra under the leadership of Margaret La Flour.

1993: Organized a BMETC Community Chorale for a Kaleidoscope concert with the MINNESOTA ORCHESTRA, William Eddins and Dr. Robert Morris, Conductors, Dr. William Warfield, narrator and Derrick Pennix and Dawn Padmore, Univ. of MN. Afro-American Graduate Students as soloists.

co-hosted a reception with Minnesota Opera Company for HANNIVAL PETERSON, a Grammy-award composer, jazz trumpeter, actor-singer, whose opera "Diary of an African American" was presemated March, 1994 at the World Theater, St. Paul.

1994: Award the first \$1,000 Buckner Memorial Scholarship Award to MARCUS WALKER, piano major at Memphis State University.

20th Anniversary Concert Fundraiser, October 8th, Plymouth Congregational Church.

Reaching a twenty-year milestone, BMETC can be proud of its many humanitarian, civic and music projects throughout the Twin Cities, and most importantly, their well-organized Junior and Youth Divisions. Moving into the third decade, members will retain their heritage while looking ahead to where they plan to be in the year 2000.

**Appendix B 20-year Anniversary Flyer ("Flyer, 20 -Year Anniversary, Box 1,
Folder 1994, MLF, St. Paul," 1994)**



Alison Sidner

BLACK MUSIC EDUCATORS OF THE TWIN CITIES

An affiliate branch of National Association of Negro Musicians, Inc.

Invites You to Attend the Commemoration of its

20th Year Anniversary

Saturday, October 8, 1994 8:00 P.M.

Plymouth Congregational Church
1900 South Nicollet • Minneapolis, Minnesota

DON'T MISS THIS GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO SEE AND HEAR

William Eddins, Assistant Conductor, Minnesota Orchestra
Master of Ceremonies

Lead us through an exciting program that includes:

Women of Class, chamber music trio

Faye Washington, flute and voice **Geneva Southall**, piano **Diana Washington**, oboe

Marcus Walker, piano

Velma Warder, organ

Doris Akers, gospel composer/performer

Donald Washington and the New Day Blues Band

Faye Washington, flute and vocals **Donald Washington**, saxophone **Elmar Romain**, bass
Sam Favors, keyboards **J. Otis Powell**, poet **Kevin Washington**, percussion

Reginald Buckner Memorial Ensemble

Thom West, piano **Frank Wharton**, flute **Wendell Thomas**, bass
Ron Brown, guitar **Robert Commodore**, percussion

Get your tickets from: Ticket Master (Dayton's • Great American Music • West Coast Video)
To charge by phone, call: (612) 989-5151 ALL MAJOR CREDIT CARDS ACCEPTED

Ticket Prices: Adults \$15.00 Students/Senior Citizens \$8.00

A major portion of the concert proceeds will go to the Reginald T. Buckner Scholarship Fund.

Appendix C: IRB Approval

IRB

Project Number: 1206E15302

PI: Williams, Yolanda Y

Title: The Intellectual Capital of the Black Music Educators of the Twin Cities
(1974-1994)

Protocol Type: (E) Exempt

Sub Type: General

Last Approval Date: 06/11/2012

Expiration Date:

Number of Subjects Approved: 200

Personnel:

Williams, Yolanda Y (willi233) Student PI

Addo, Akosua O (addox002) Advisor